

1. Delaware,	1787, Dec. 7.	8. South Carolina,	1788, May 23.
2. Pennsylvania,	" Dec. 12.	9. New Hampshire,	" June 21.
3. New Jersey,	" Dec. 18.	10. Virginia,	" June 25.
4. Georgia,	1788, Jan. 2.	11. New York,	" July 26.
5. Connecticut,	" Jan. 9.	12. North Carolina,	1789, Nov. 21.
6. Massachusetts,	" Feb. 6.	13. Rhode Island,	1790, May 29.
7. Maryland,	" April 28.		

AT LONDON.

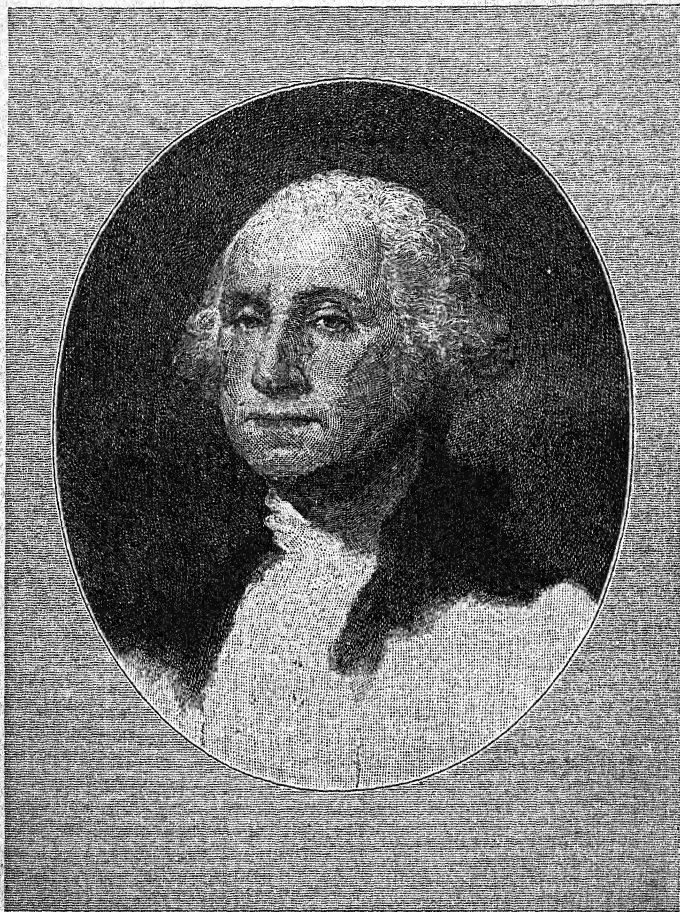


Central Time

A.M. Time

Eastern





George Washington

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES *FOR SCHOOLS*

BY

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AMERICAN GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY, THE HISTORICAL SOCIETIES OF
VIRGINIA, MISSOURI, CALIFORNIA, ETC.

*WITH TOPICAL ANALYSIS, SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS
AND DIRECTIONS FOR TEACHERS*

BY

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AND LATER OF THE MECHANIC ARTS HIGH SCHOOL IN BOSTON



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PREFACE.

ABOUT thirteen years ago I was solicited at once by half a dozen publishing houses to write a school-book for the study of American history, and in all these requests the same reason was alleged. The desire was expressed for a book from a professional hand instead of the mere compilations formerly in use. In response to one of these requests I had formed a definite plan for writing such a book, when I was deterred by the appearance of two or three new and excellent text-books which seemed likely to make mine superfluous. The plan was accordingly abandoned, and I thought no more of it for several years.

In 1889, at the instance of my friends, Messrs. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., I wrote the little book on "Civil Government in the United States," and its gratifying success in schools has led them to urge upon me a similar experiment with the general subject of American history. The present book is the result. One of its chief aims is the furtherance of methods of study and instruction such as are indicated in the work on "Civil Government." In the teaching of history the pupil's mind should not be treated as a mere lifeless receptacle for facts; the main thing is to arouse his interest and stimulate his faculties to healthful exer-

cise. With this end in view I have again been so fortunate as to obtain the assistance of Dr. Frank A. Hill, a teacher of great experience, and whose ideas are quite in harmony with my own. Dr. Hill has furnished the questions which serve as a topical analysis of my chapters, as also the directions to teachers and the suggestive questions which point to answers that can be obtained only by going outside of this book. I know from experience that even children are capable of receiving much stimulus from such independent questions, and it is hoped that many teachers will find them useful.

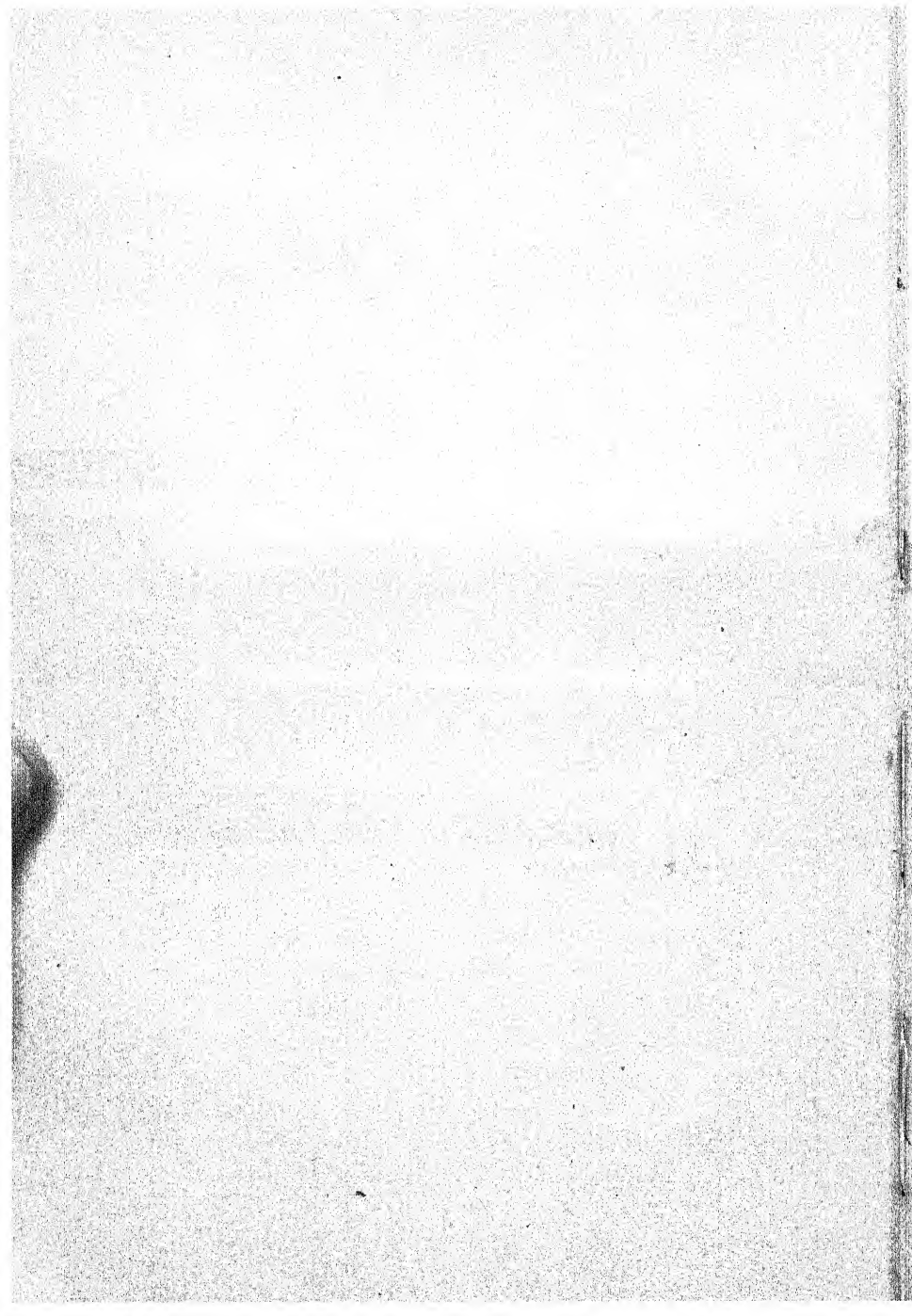
It is difficult to squeeze the narrative of nearly three centuries within the narrow limits of a school-book without making it dull. So much compression requires the wholesale sacrifice of details, and it is in the multiplicity of details, if well grouped, that the life of a narrative is apt to consist. The grouping is, however, the main thing. Without the proper grouping, a mass of the most picturesque facts is liable to seem like a blur; with proper grouping, even abridged and general statements may retain a good deal of life. The best kind of grouping is that which brings out most clearly the true relations of cause and effect, for it gives to the narrative the flow of a natural stream. Very young minds are susceptible of the charm that is felt upon seeing an event emerge naturally from its causes; perhaps all young minds are susceptible of it unless an artificial stupidity has been superinduced by bad methods of teaching. I have therefore aimed, above all things, at

telling the story in such a way as to make it clear how one event led to another ; and hope that in this way the interest will be found to be sustained, even in the absence of stories like Putnam and the wolf. The interest of the pupils will of course be greatly increased by collateral readings from more detailed narratives ; and here the teacher will find sufficient help in the references which Dr. Hill has appended to each chapter. These references are purposely made to a very few books, such as any school may have in its library without great expense.

Dr. Hill's contributions to this book consist of the note To the Teacher, pp. xix-xxi ; the Topics and Questions, Suggestive Questions and Directions, and Topics for Collateral Reading, at the end of each chapter ; Appendix G, pp. 528-530 ; the first footnote to page 21 ; and the footnote to page 22.

In selecting the illustrations I have carefully restricted myself to such as are helps to the understanding or appreciation of the narrative. Such are maps, portraits, views of historic buildings, or of towns in past stages of development, with an occasional autograph, a reproduction of some historical picture, the facsimile of a document or old print, etc., etc. Mere fanciful pictures, or "embellishments," have been scrupulously avoided. The maps have all been made either from my own sketches or under my direction.

CAMBRIDGE, August 4, 1894.



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TO THE TEACHER.

BY F. A. HILL.

It is a wise plan to have the pupil read about a given subject in a continuous and connected way before he is given formal lessons upon it. Continuous reading.

This reading the teacher should guide. At the outset he should try to lead the learner to see that the real history of a people includes everything about them; that it is, therefore, an aggregate of innumerable facts; that Real history. it is impossible, as it would be undesirable, for the most painstaking historian to present all these facts, or a millionth part of them; and that whoever has anything to do with history is compelled to select his materials from infinite details. Such selection becomes possible because Historic facts not of equal value. historic facts are not of equal value. The historian fixes upon those only which he thinks will help him show the grander features of a people's origin, rise, progress, and vicissitudes.

The most elaborate history, therefore, is a merciless abridgment, a school history abridges such abridgment, and the boy or girl who would conquer a school history must be trained to a further abridgment still. Written history an abridgment. When it comes, then, to getting a lesson, the attention should be focused upon those few things that are of chief consequence. The pupil's aim. These once firmly grasped become, as it were, axes about which, as in a crystal, subordinate matters will tend to arrange themselves with greater or less system and tenacity. If such minor matters are retained in the memory in considerable number, very good; if they are speedily and largely forgotten, as is more likely, there are usually left hints

or traces of them that, however vague or shadowy, are still serviceable to the pupil when he would refer to them for subsequent purposes.

And here a caution should be given about memorizing history. It is desirable, on the one hand, to have at command the more important facts of history. It is clear, Memorizing history. on the other hand, that the most precious things history has to offer may be missed by one who is chiefly employed in memorizing it. When history is viewed as an assemblage of unrelated facts, conquering it naturally takes the form of committing it to memory. When it is looked upon as a development, — a chain of causes and effects, — it appeals more directly to the reason and understanding.

Many, if not most, of the facts of history the pupil is destined to forget. He should be so trained, therefore, that Things to be retained. when the unavoidable oblivion comes, he shall yet retain something of interest in reading history, something of power in following up a line of ordinary investigation, something of a disposition to seek for the underlying causes of events, something of a grasp of the mightier tendencies and movements of history, and some inkling of that conception of history that makes it a teacher of the present out of the wealth of its past.

Whatever methods the versatility of teachers may devise for class instruction, two points should not be overlooked: Stimulation of thought. (1) the stimulation of thought, and (2) excellence in reproduction. When the former is the object, the pupil should be encouraged to express himself freely, his inadequate expression must be tenderly dealt with, and, in general, his mind must not be unduly burdened by anything that would prevent right thinking, as, for instance, by a struggle to repeat matter from memory. The pupil's genuine thought is a kind of crude or raw material which it will take time to work into shape. To encourage such thought, a certain sort of distracting criticism should be avoided.

When, however, a subject has been grasped, and it comes to presenting it, then a different treatment is needed. It is a

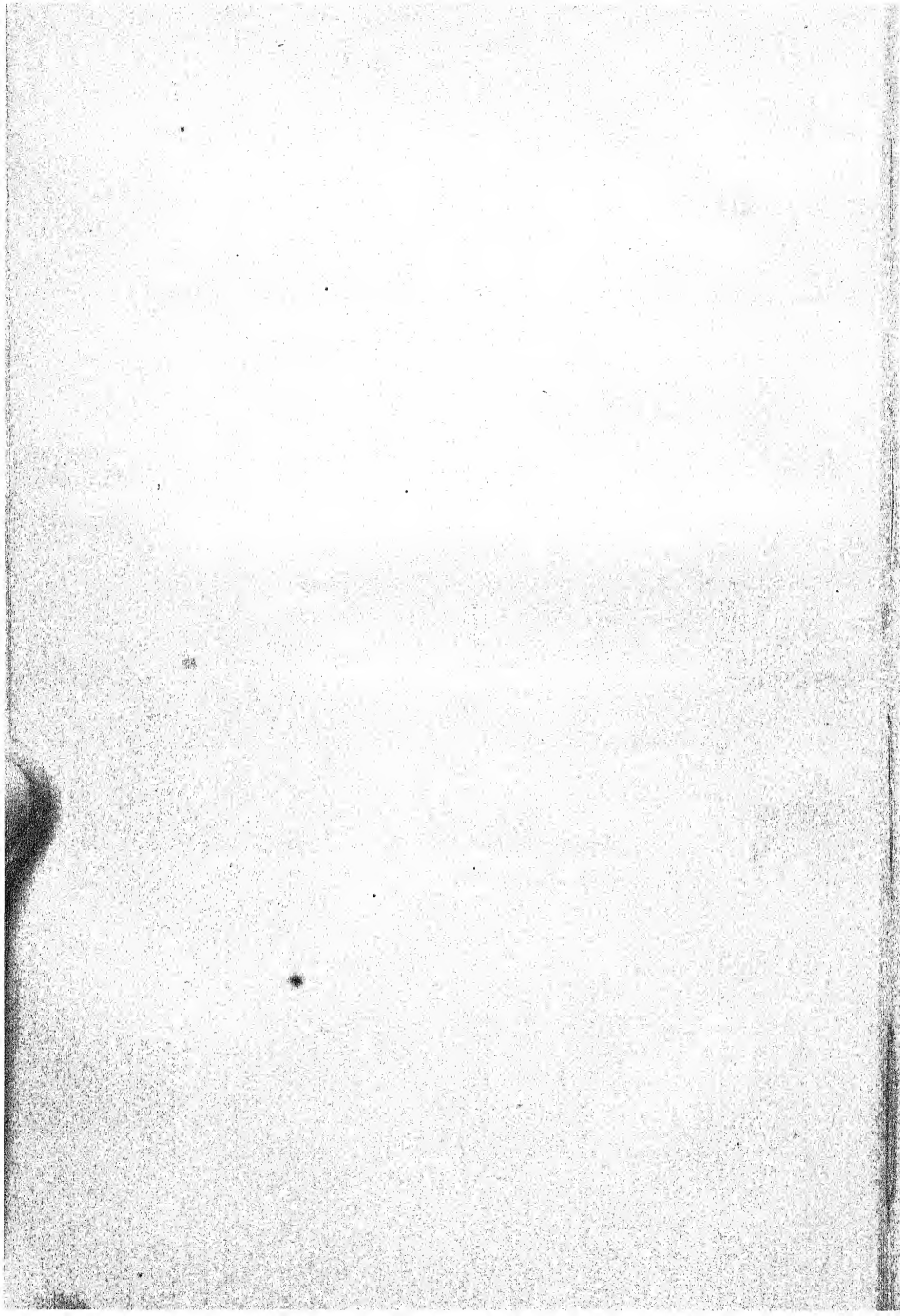
good plan to assign the pupil matter beforehand to study for presentation, — matter that he knows he will be called upon to present. His aim should be to use his own language freely, to recite promptly and fluently and accurately, and to do all this with a good voice and a pleasing manner. The pupil should have as good a chance as his elders, who, if they are to speak in public, usually desire to make special and precise preparation for such speaking. The two ideals for thinking and reproducing should be kept distinct, at least, for a time. To think on one's feet and to present the results of such thinking in good and forcible English, — this is the flower of prolonged and successful discipline.

Reproduction of matter.

The importance of collateral reading to the teacher can hardly be overstated. It is essential not only to his equipment as an instructor but to his influence over the reading habits of his pupils. The text repeatedly limits to a single sentence the record of events rich in life, picturesqueness, and color; and much of the value and charm of history is missed if there is no acquaintance with this underlying wealth. The enthusiastic interest that comes to the teacher from such enlightenment is pretty sure to extend by a subtle contagion to his pupils. It stands to reason that sympathetic advice about reading from one who has traveled the recommended way and brings back glowing accounts of it is more likely to win young people than perfunctory directions from one who has never been over the road at all.

Collateral reading

The specific directions for collateral reading given elsewhere in this book are purposely limited to a few themes selected from a brief list of recommended works that deal with the formative and more romantic periods of American history. If the spirit of these directions is heeded, it is believed the interest aroused will extend in a natural way to other themes in the same books, if not to books of a wider list.



HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

INTRODUCTORY.

CHAPTER I.

ANCIENT AMERICA.

1. **The People of the United States.** The people of the United States are a transplanted people. Of the citizens who voted in 1892 for Cleveland or for Harrison, some were born in Europe, many were the children of European parents who had migrated to America, nearly all were descended from ancestors who three centuries ago were dwelling in the Old World. Now and then, indeed, one may come across an American citizen descended from red men, but such are very rare. We are European people transplanted to the soil of a New World. Our history until within the last nine or ten generations must be sought in the history of Europe, and chiefly in that of England. In England our language attained its highest perfection while the red man still roamed unmolested in the Adirondacks and the Alleghanies; and from England our forefathers brought the institutions and laws out of which our state and national governments have since grown.

Until within four centuries our European ancestors had never heard of America, and had never dreamed of

such a thing as a continent between the western shores of Europe and the eastern shores of Asia. Accordingly, when Europeans began coming to America in 1492, they

The red men; why they were called Indians.

supposed it was Asia, and as they found the country peopled by red men, they called these red men "Indians." Europeans at that time knew very little about the inhabitants of Asia

or India, else they would not have made such a mistake. The natives of America are not especially like Asiatics. They are a race by themselves. They have lived in America for many thousand years; just how long nobody knows. One thing is sure, however. Before ever white men came here, the red men had for long ages been spread all over North and South America,



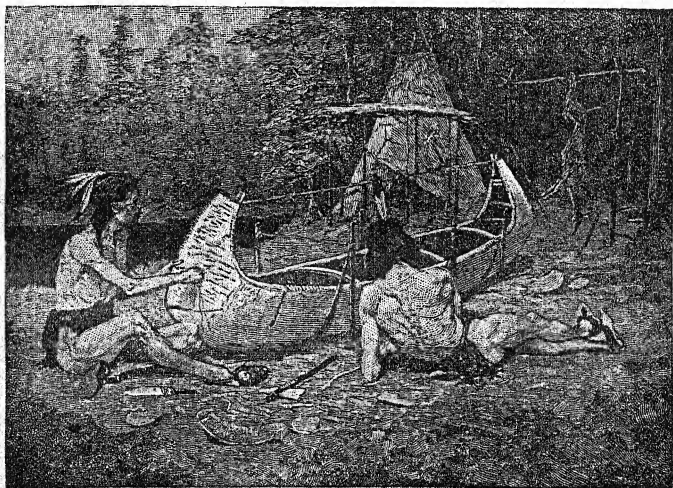
TYPICAL INDIAN FACE.¹

from Hudson Bay to Cape Horn, and differences of race had grown up among them. All alike had skins of a cinnamon color, high cheek bones, and intensely black eyes and hair, with little or no beard. But in respect of size, as of general appearance and manners, there were differences between different tribes as marked as the difference be-

tween an Englishman and an Arab.

¹ Portrait of American Horse, master of ceremonies in the Sun Dance held by the Ogallala Sioux Indians in 1882.

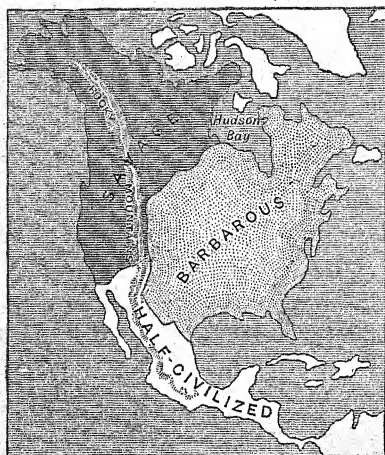
2. The Savage Indians. Some of these Indians were much more savage than others. There were three principal divisions among them: (1) savage, (2) barbarous, and (3) half-civilized. In North America the savage Indians lived to the west of Hudson Bay, and



SAVAGE INDIANS.¹

southwardly between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific coast, as far as the northern parts of Mexico. The Athabaskans, the Bannocks, and the Apaches were, and are, specimens of savage Indians. They had little or no agriculture, but lived by catching fish or shooting birds or such game as antelopes and buffaloes. They were not settled in villages, but moved about from place to place with very rude tent-like wigwams. They wove excellent baskets, but did not bake pottery.

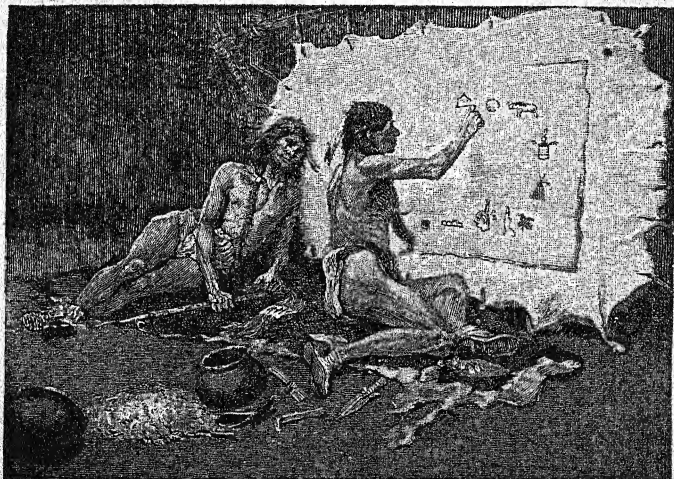
¹ From Longfellow's *Hiawatha*, illustrated by Frederic Remington.



AREAS OF THE THREE GRADES OF INDIANS
IN NORTH AMERICA.

see more and more agricultural life. The most impor-

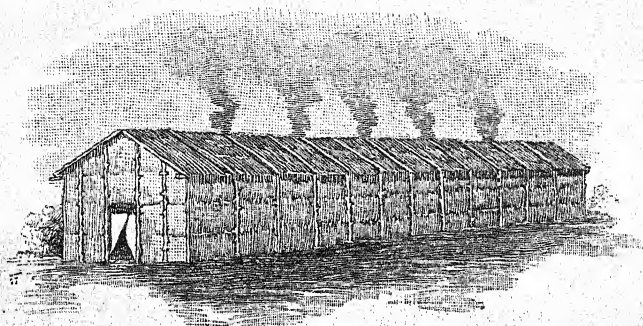
3. The Barbarous Indians. All of North America east of the Rocky Mountains was inhabited by the barbarous Indians, who had found out how to scratch the soil with a stone hoe and raise certain vegetables, so as not to be wholly dependent upon hunting and fishing. Going eastward out of the range of the buffalo herds, one would



BARBAROUS INDIANS.¹

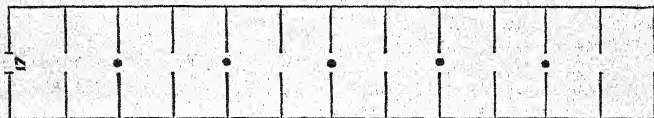
¹ From Longfellow's *Hiawatha*, illustrated by F. Remington.

tant plant was maize, or "Indian corn,"¹ which was not known in the Old World until America was discovered.



SENECA-IROQUOIS LONG-HOUSE.²

These Indians also raised pumpkins and squashes, beans and tomatoes, tobacco and sunflowers. They made pottery and ornamental pipes, and some tribes wove coarse cloth. Their tools and weapons were made of chipped or finely polished stones. They lived in villages



96 FT.

GROUND-PLAN OF IROQUOIS LONG-HOUSE.

with houses fitted to last for some years. Usually these houses were large enough to hold from thirty to fifty families in separate booths or stalls. The illustration here shows a frame house of the Senecas³ covered with elm bark. Smoke is seen at regular intervals issuing from

¹ See my *Discovery of America*, i. 27-29.

² From Morgan's *Houses and House-Life of the American Aborigines*.

³ The Senecas were one of the Iroquois tribes, and lived within the present limits of the State of New York. See map facing p. 8.

five holes in the roof. Under each hole is a stone fire-pit in the middle of the hard earthen floor, and around each fire-pit are four stalls, two on each side and opening on the long passageway that runs through the centre of



MANDAN ROUND-HOUSES.¹

the house with an outside door at each end. This house would have twenty-four compartments, of which twenty would hold each a family, while at each end two stalls were generally reserved for storing provisions. Other tribes had different styles of houses; for example, the Man-

dans, on the upper Missouri, lived in round frame houses covered with clay which hardened under the sun's rays and became fire-proof. Each house had a fire-pit in the centre, and the compartments for families were triangular, with the points toward the centre, like the cuts of a pie.

4. The Clan and the Tribe. All the families that lived together in the same house were supposed to be descended from the same female ancestor. All the families thus related made a clan. Sometimes there were too many to live in one house, and they

¹ From Catlin's *North American Indians*, i. 88. The picture is modern and shows a horse; see opposite page.

occupied several houses grouped together in one neighborhood. The houses and food belonged to the clan, and there was no private property except weapons and trinkets. The clan had its own religious ceremonies, and was known by a name, usually of some animal, as Bear or Turtle; such animals were held sacred, and carved images of them, called totems, served as a kind of emblem of the clan.

A certain number of clans,—from three or four up to twenty or more,—speaking the same language, made up an Indian tribe. Society was completely democratic; there were no distinctions of rank. The Indian tribe. Every clan elected its own “sachem” or civil magistrate, and could depose him for misconduct. Every clan also elected a certain number of war-chiefs. The tribe was governed by a council of its clan-sachems; some tribes elected a head war-chief and some did not. Every matter of importance had to be decided in the tribal council.

5. More about the Barbarous Indians. The religion of these Indians was the worship of their dead ancestors, curiously mingled with the worship of the Sun, the Winds, the Lightning, and other powers of nature, usually personified as animals. For example, Lightning was regarded as a snake, and snakes were Indian religion. held more or less sacred. Religious rites were a kind of incantation performed by men especially instructed in such things, and called “medicine-men.” In most religious ceremonies dancing played a great part.

The Indians had dogs (of a poor sort) which helped them in the chase and served also as food; but they had neither horses, asses, cows, goats, sheep, nor pigs,—no domesticated farm animals of any sort. Lack of domestic animals. Without the help of such animals it is very difficult to rise out of barbarism into civilized life. The

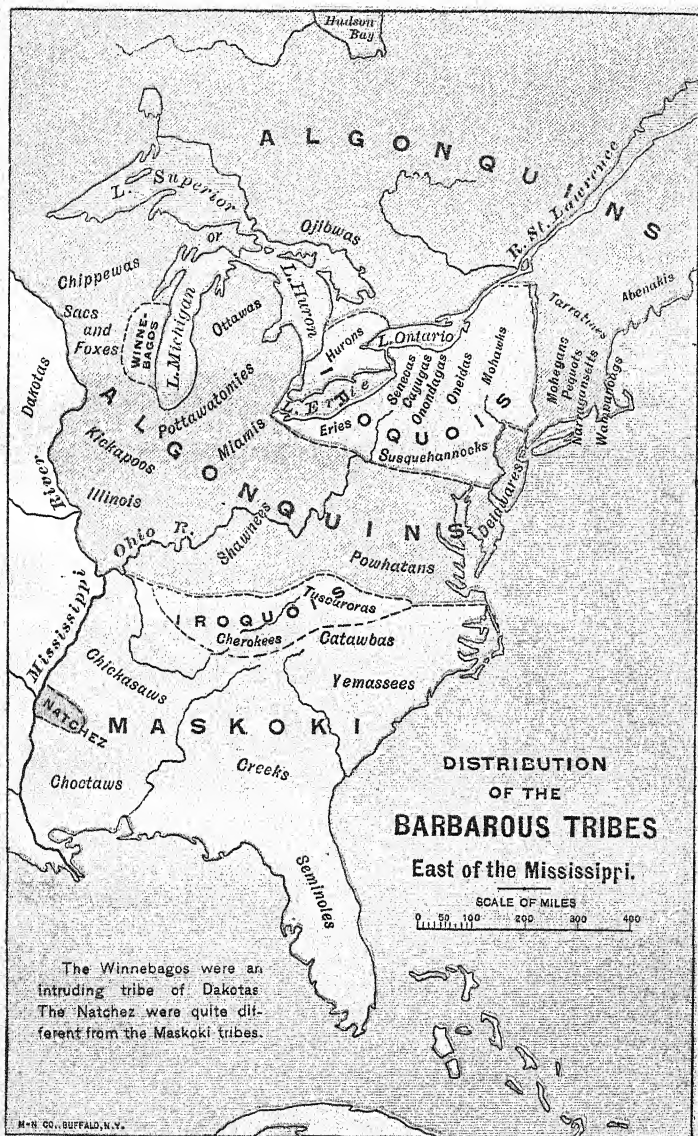
Indian's supply of food was too scanty to support a dense population. The people lived in scattered tribes, without any government higher than the tribe; and hence they were almost always at war. Fighting was the chief business of life, and a young man was not considered fit to be married until he had shown his prowess by killing enemies and bringing away their scalps. Such a kind of life tended to make men cruel and revengeful, and the Indians were unsurpassed for cruelty. It was their cherished custom to put captives to death with lingering tortures.

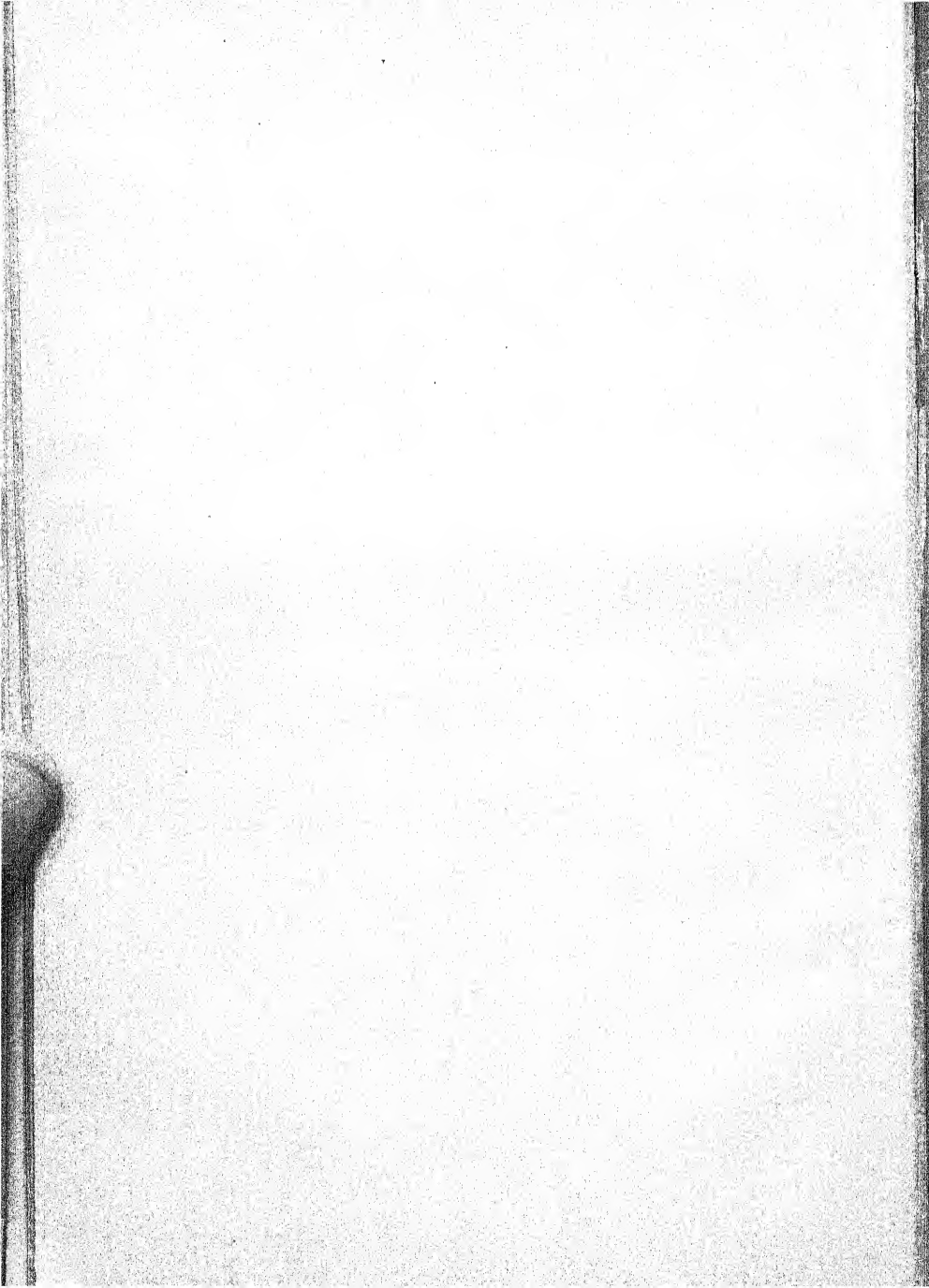
6. Barbarous Tribes of the United States. The barbarous village Indians east of the Mississippi River are the ones that have played the most conspicuous part in the history of the United States; for they were the Indians with whom our people first came into contact, and against whom we had first to fight while the red man's power was still formidable. These Indians were divided

into three stocks or races, with languages quite distinct. First, there were the Maskoki, spread over the country south of Tennessee and from the Mississippi River into Florida. The principal tribes of Maskoki were the Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks, and Seminoles.

Secondly, there were the Iroquois, consisting chiefly of the Hurons north of Lake Erie, the Eries south of that lake, the Five Nations of central New York, the Susquehannocks of Pennsylvania, the Tuscaroras of North Carolina, and the Cherokees in the valley of the Tennessee. Thirdly, all the other tribes between the Atlantic and the Mississippi, and from the Carolinas up to Labrador, were

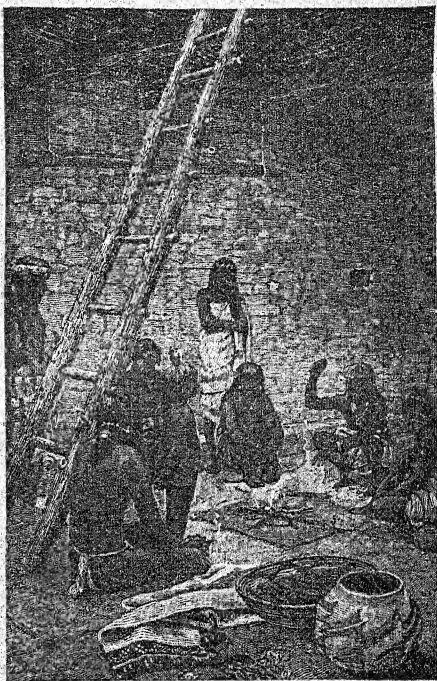
Algonquins. There were also scattered Algonquin tribes as far west as the Rocky Mountains. The most famous Algonquin tribes were the Powhatans





of Virginia, the Lenape of Delaware, the Mohegans (including the Pequots) and Narragansetts of New England, the Shawnees of the Ohio valley, and the Pottawatomies, Ottawas, Chippewas, and Sacs-and-Foxes of the country about the upper Great Lakes.

Of all these barbarous tribes the least advanced out of savagery was the Algonquin tribe of Chippewas (sometimes called Ojibwas); the most advanced were the Iroquois tribes in New York, known as the Five Nations. Among certain Indian tribes before the white men came, confederacies had begun



HALF-CIVILIZED INDIANS.¹

to be formed, in order to insure peace within the confederation, and to present a united front against all enemies. The most famous of these confederacies was that of the Five Nations, and we shall meet with it more than once in this history.

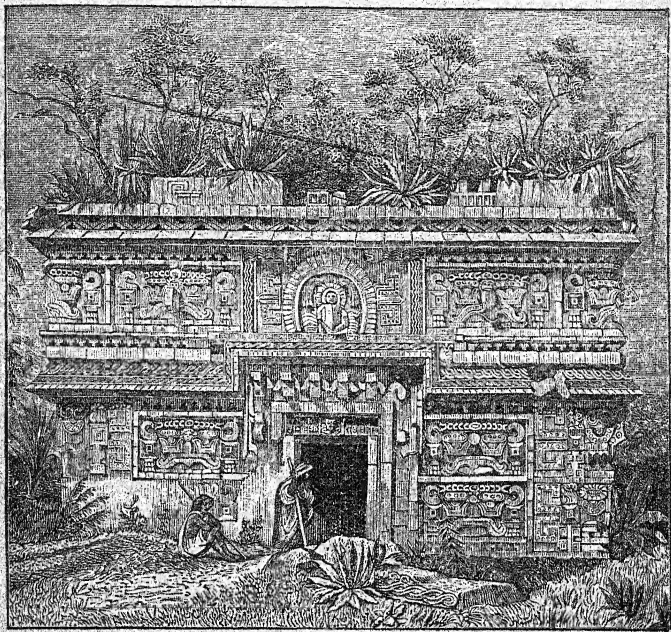
7. The Half-Civilized Indians. In order to complete

¹ From a painting by Julian Scott.

our sketch of aboriginal America, it is necessary to say a few words about the half-civilized Indians, although they have not had much to do with the history of the United States. Some of them still live upon our soil, however, and they are very interesting people. The home of the half-civilized Indians is chiefly mountainous country, and extends from New Mexico southward as far as Chili. A great part of this country is so dry that constant and regular irrigation is needed in order to obtain crops. At some early time the natives learned how to bring down water from the mountains in sluices, and thus to irrigate their fields of Indian corn. They also learned how to build very strong fortresses of adobe, or sunburnt brick, and afterward of stones more or less neatly hewn. Such fortresses were sometimes four or five stories in height, and would accommodate 3,000 persons or more. Sometimes two or more fortresses grew together into castellated towns holding the whole of a populous tribe. The word Pueblo means sometimes such a single stronghold and sometimes such a castellated city; and the semi-civilized Indians who live in them are called Pueblo Indians. It will be observed that their country borders upon that of the savage Indians. For many ages such tribes as the Apaches have been the terror of the semi-civilized tribes, who have often built their pueblos in situations almost inaccessible for the sake of security. In former times they used here and there to build them high up on cliffs like eagles' nests. But in spite of such precautions, they have suffered much at the hands of the savages.

8. Interesting Pueblo Indians. The most interesting Pueblo Indians now living in America are the Moquis, of northeastern Arizona, and the Zuñis, of New Mexico. In these territories there were once a great many pueb-

los, now deserted and in ruins. In Mexico they were still more numerous, and formed several confederacies, of which the most famous was the Aztec Confederacy, founded about 1430. This was a league between the



RUINED TEMPLE AT UXMAL, YUCATAN.¹

City of Mexico and two neighboring pueblos for the purpose of extorting tribute from other pueblos; and this work went on until the white men came and sub-

¹ This beautiful temple is in Uxmal, one of the most interesting of the ruined cities of Yucatan. At the time when Spaniards first visited the country, Uxmal was one of the principal cities of the half-civilized Mayas, who still dwell in Yucatan. At that time it may have been two or three hundred years old. As late as 1673, according to Stephens, religious rites were still regularly performed in this temple by the Mayas.

duced the whole country. The Indian city of Mexico was entirely destroyed, but it seems to have been a collection of great pueblo castles, built of stone, covered with white gypsum, and curiously carved; there were also tall pyramidal temples for sacrifices to the gods. All through Central America, and beyond the isthmus in South America, semi-civilized people much like those of Mexico lived in similar cities, many of which now present for us some of the most interesting ruins in the world.

Among the Pueblo Indians, society was made up of clans and tribes, with the government in the council, very much the same as with the barbarous Indians. But the Pueblo tribes usually had a military chief who had come to be a kind of king. They had temples and orders of priesthood. Their tools and weapons were mostly of stone, but they made some use of bronze. In building and the arts of decoration they had gone far beyond the barbarous Indians. In Mexico and Central America they had hieroglyphic¹ or picture writing on bark and on a kind of paper made from the century plant. They did not torture prisoners to death, but sacrificed them to the gods.

9. Half-Civilized Indians at their Best. The nearest approach to civilization in Ancient America was achieved in the Peruvian Andes, where the tribe of Incas subdued neighboring tribes, and became a governing class, or nobility, with its own chieftain, called specially The Inca, as king over the whole. These Incas founded something like an empire, and connected its parts with good military roads, and did something

¹ Hieroglyphic writing : a kind of writing in which ideas are conveyed by means of pictures of objects, or by means of symbols or signs, to which it is understood that certain meanings shall always belong.

toward civilizing the barbarous people they conquered. There was a greater population in Peru than elsewhere. There were two small domestic animals, the llama, useful as a light beast of burden, and the alpaca, useful for his fleece. Besides the corn and other Indian vegetables, the Peruvians cultivated the potato, which was unknown to the rest of the world until their country was discovered by white men. They raised the best of cotton, and made very fine cotton and woolen cloths. In most of the arts they were superior to any other people in America, though they had no writing. The religion of the Incas was a refined sun-worship, without human sacrifices. They made mummies of their dead, somewhat like the ancient Egyptians.

10. Ancient Indians East of the Rocky Mountains. No traces of the half-civilized Indians have been found in North America east of the Rocky Mountains. The soil, indeed, is in many places covered with relics of bygone generations of men who built their houses upon earthen mounds for defense, or who heaped up mounds for burial purposes. Such mounds are especially abundant between the Alleghany Mountains and the Mississippi River. More than 2,000 mounds have been opened, and nearly 40,000 ancient relics have been gathered from them; such as stone arrow-heads and spades, axes and hammers, mortars and pestles, tools for spinning and weaving, water jugs, kettles, sepulchral urns, tobacco pipes, and articles made of coarse cloth. It used to be supposed that the mounds were built by some mysterious race of civilized men who have vanished from the earth. It was afterward supposed that the "Mound-Builders" were half-civilized Indians, like those of Mexico, who once inhabited the Mississippi valley, but were driven southwestward by the

The
Mound-
Builders.

barbarous Indians. But since the thousands of relics have been more carefully examined, this notion of a race of Mound-Builders has been steadily losing favor. The people who built the mounds seem to have been not half-civilized but barbarous Indians, and they may have been the ancestors of those who were dwelling in the country when the white men came.

We have next to see how and when the white men happened to come.

TOPICS AND QUESTIONS.

To the Teacher. When the subdivisions of a topic are not in the question form, they may be readily changed to that form by those who prefer it. It is a good plan to have copied at the blackboard in anticipation of each lesson the topics and subdivisions that belong to it. This reduces the memory burden for the pupil, while it emphasizes the points he should think of.

The teacher should frequently study a topic with his pupils. Let the text be read thoughtfully, the teacher directing the class to note the leading points. He should show why certain things are of greater moment than other things, and why it is the grasping of these main points rather than the reciting of the text that is the essence of right study. Then the teacher may frame questions to test the pupils' apprehension of these points. Such questions will be substantially in accordance with the divisions of the topic as presented in the book. These questions answered, the pupil may then, without further help, tell what he can about the subject studied. The guiding principle of these suggestions to the teacher is that his pressure upon the pupil should take the direction of stimulating his thought rather than of directly training his memory, not forgetting, however, that whatever helps the former will incidentally aid the latter.

1. THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

1. The ancestors of most of us.
2. Our history, language, and institutions.
3. What America at first was thought to be.
4. Why the red men were called Indians.
5. How long the Indians have lived in America.

2. THE SAVAGE INDIANS.
 1. Where they lived.
 2. How they lived.
3. THE BARBAROUS INDIANS.
 1. Where they lived.
 2. Their agriculture and manufactures.
 3. Their villages and houses.
 4. The difference between the Seneca long-house and the Mandan round-house.
4. THE CLAN AND THE TRIBE.
 1. The families of the clan.
 2. The property of the clan.
 3. The name of the clan.
 4. The rulers of the clan.
 5. The make-up of the tribe.
 6. The rulers of the tribe.
5. MORE ABOUT THE BARBAROUS INDIANS.
 1. What they worshiped.
 2. Their lack of domestic animals.
 3. What they thought of fighting.
 4. Their cruelty in war.
6. BARBAROUS TRIBES OF THE UNITED STATES.
 1. The Maskoki.
 2. The Iroquois.
 3. The Algonquins.
 4. The tribe nearest savagery.
 5. The tribes most advanced.
 6. Confederacies.
7. THE HALF-CIVILIZED INDIANS.
 1. Their country.
 2. Their houses.
 3. The word pueblo.
 4. Pueblo Indians.
 5. Their dread of the Apaches.
 6. Their cliff-houses.
8. INTERESTING PUEBLO INDIANS.
 1. The Moquis and Zuñis.
 2. The Aztec Confederacy.
 3. The Indian city of Mexico.
 4. The people of Central America.

5. How the Pueblo Indians compare with the barbarous Indians
 - (a) in government, (b) in the arts, (c) in writing, and (d) in treating prisoners.
9. HALF-CIVILIZED INDIANS AT THEIR BEST.
 1. The Peruvian tribe of Incas.
 2. Their achievements in the arts and sciences.
10. ANCIENT INDIANS EAST OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS.
 1. Relics of the Mound-Builders.
 2. The first supposition about them.
 3. The next supposition about them.
 4. The present drift of thought about them.

SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS AND DIRECTIONS.

The object of these questions and directions is to stimulate reading, thinking, and, in a modest way, investigating. Young minds cannot be expected to engage in difficult research. Still they should be trained, even while they are in the grammar schools, to look up simple matters for themselves. Every school should have a small working library for the study of American history. Investigation may begin in such a library. It may extend to the public library, and, in favored families, to the books at home. Some of the questions here asked may be answered from the text, some from a large dictionary or an encyclopædia, some by intelligent persons whom the pupils may consult, and some out of one's sound sense. Do not try to have any one answer them all. Assign single topics to different pupils to report on at a subsequent time. Reserve some for class development under the teacher's guidance. It is not necessary to settle all the questions that come up. The point to be gained is not so much the accumulation of facts as the production of an inquiring turn of mind.

1. What is a native? What is a foreigner? What is a citizen? (See the Constitution of the United States, 14th amendment.) What is an alien? Can one be a native and a foreigner at the same time? A citizen and a foreigner? An alien and a citizen?
2. Imagine an Indian passing from a savage to a civilized state. When does he cease to be savage? To be barbarous? To be half-civilized?

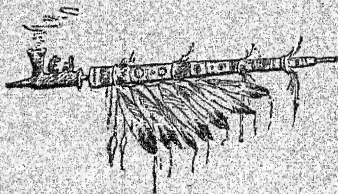
3. Tell about any Indians that may be living in your State. Tell about any Indians you may have seen.
4. What makes it more and more difficult for Indians to lead a savage life in the United States? Is there any game where you live? Was it right for the Indian to kill game anywhere? Would it be right for you to do so? What makes the difference?
5. What signs of Indians might one expect to find where they have long ceased to live? What signs of them would naturally disappear in time?
6. Visit a collection of Indian relics, if practicable, and report on what you see.
7. Are the Indians that Cooper tells about in his *Leather Stocking Tales* (*The Deerslayer*, *The Last of the Mohicans*, and others) true and real ones, or rather better? Why do you think so?
8. What genuine Indian customs are described in Longfellow's *Hiawatha*? (Speak of pipe-making, picture-writing, canoe-building, etc.)
9. Is it a picture of savage or of barbarous life that Longfellow gives us in "Blessing the Cornfields"? (*Hiawatha*, xiii.) Why?
10. Compare a modern apartment house with a Seneca long-house. What resemblances and differences occur to you?
11. Suppose one is called upon, as an artist, to paint three Indian groups,—one under savage conditions, the second under barbarous conditions, and the third under half-civilized conditions; mention some things from the text that he ought to put into each picture and some things that he ought to keep out. Are the pictures in the text true to the kinds of life they are meant to show?
12. Who owned this country before the white men took possession of it? Was it right for them to take it by force? Ought they to have bought it? Did they take possession of it for themselves as individuals? If to-day we hold land that was unjustly taken from the Indians centuries ago, is our title to it good? May not the Indians themselves have seized by force the land that the white men subsequently took from them?
13. Does the fact that one nation or race can use land to better advantage than another make it right for the former to take such land by force?

TOPICS FOR COLLATERAL READING.

In selecting topics for collateral reading, it has been thought wise to limit them to a list of books so small and inexpensive that the humblest school may easily obtain them; and to make them so definite, both in subjects and in the places where they are to be looked for, that there can be no excuse for ignoring them. They are selected for their interest, their picturesqueness, and the light they shed on the text; and it is believed that if pupils can be led to read them, many, perhaps the most of them, may become conscious of a pleasure strong enough to lead them to more extensive reading in other parts of the same books, or in the books of a more generous list.

The subjects of Ancient America and The Discovery of America are treated fully in Fiske's *The Discovery of America*, two volumes, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. The following topics are particularly helpful to the teacher and to his maturer pupils:

1. Signs of the ancient occupation of America (*a*) in the shell mounds on the seacoast, (*b*) in the stone implements of certain gravel beds, and (*c*) in an occasional skull, 4-11.
2. The Eskimos and the Cave men, 16-18.
3. Signs of savagery, 24, 25.
4. Three stages of savage life, 26.
5. Three stages of barbarism, 27-32.
6. The Iroquois tribes, 44-47.
7. The barbarism of the great body of aborigines as shown in their villages, weapons, horticulture, warfare, cruelty, morality, and religion, 48-52.
8. The Iroquois long-houses, 64-70.
9. The Mandan round-houses, 79-82.
10. The ruined cities of Central America, 131-139.
11. The mysterious Mound-Builders, 140-146.



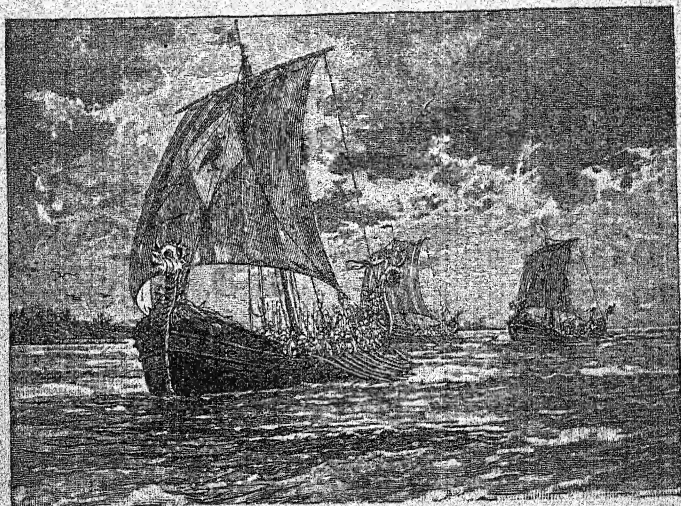
CHAPTER II.

THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

11. The Voyages of the Northmen. The time when people from the civilized countries of the Old World first visited the shores of America is not positively known. Vague stories have been current of voyages to North America made long ago by Arabs or Irishmen, or others, across the Atlantic, or by Chinese junks by way of the Aleutian Islands a thousand years before Columbus. We cannot say positively that such things might not have happened, but there is no evidence to warrant us in believing that they ever did happen.

The first really historical account of Europeans visiting America is found in three Icelandic manuscripts written from one to two centuries before the time of Columbus. These manuscripts give accounts of the founding of a colony in Greenland by a Norwegian named Eric the Red, in the year 986. The inhabitants of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, usually known as the Northmen, were at that time the most skillful and daring sailors in the world. In their long ships—like long boats propelled with oars and sails—they made their way to such distant places as Constantinople, and even through arctic waters to the White Sea and to Baffin's Bay. In 874 they settled Iceland, and in 986 they founded on the southwestern coast of Greenland, near Cape Farewell, a colony which lasted until the fifteenth century, and has left behind it the interesting ruins

of several stone-built villages and churches. Seamen sailing to this colony from Iceland were driven out of their way, and caught glimpses of the coast of Labrador. In the year 1000 Leif, son of Eric the Red, sailed from Greenland with one ship and a crew of thirty-five men, to see what he could find on this coast. He stopped and landed at several points, the last of which he called Vinland (Vine-land) because he found quantities of wild grapes there. This place was probably somewhere on the coast of Massachusetts Bay. During

NORSE SHIPS.¹

the next twelve years several voyages were made to Vinland, chiefly for timber, of which there was a scarcity in Greenland. One of the explorers, Thorfinn Karlsefni, went with three ships, one hundred and sixty men, and a number of cattle, intending to found a colony in Vinland.

¹ From a drawing by M. J. Burns.

But the Indians slew several of his people, and made so much trouble for him that after three years he gave up his enterprise and went away. Our Icelandic chronicles,¹ which are clearly based on the reports of eye-witnesses, give vivid and accurate accounts of the Indians and their peculiar methods of trading and fighting, besides mentioning many of the animals, plants, and fish characteristic of this coast. They do not mention any further attempts to found a colony, though occasional voyages seem to have been made to Vinland for timber. Although the Northmen probably made a few flying visits to the coast of Massachusetts, there is no reason for believing that they ever made a settlement south of Davis Strait. It is indeed very common, almost anywhere upon the New England coast, for somebody to point to some queer old heap of stones or the remnant of some forgotten barn-cellar, and ask if it is not a "relic of the Northmen." But no such relic has yet been found.²

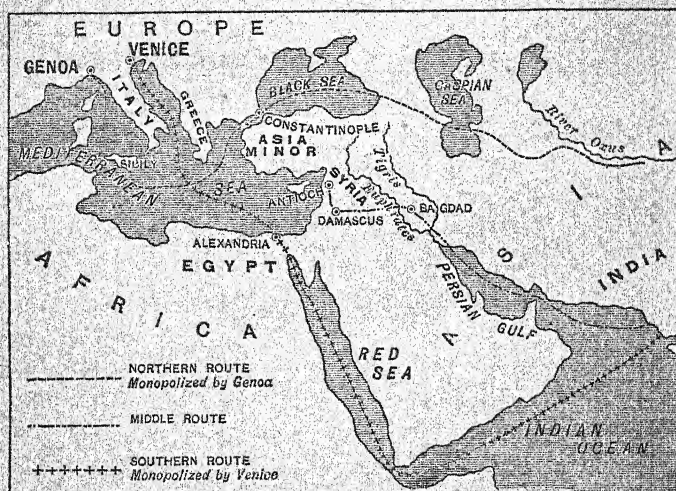
12. Trade between Europe and Asia. These Vinland voyages attracted no notice in Europe, and were soon forgotten even in Iceland. People were too ignorant to feel much interest in remote seas and lands, wherever they might be. But the next four hundred years saw a slow but steady change. People began to feel a great and growing interest in Asia.

From the earliest times there had been more or less

¹ See No. 31 of the Old South Leaflets for extracts from the saga, or story, of Eric the Red, one of the Icelandic chronicles referred to in the text. The teacher should read Fiske's *The Discovery of America*, i. 194-226. [F. A. H.]

² The most famous of the supposed relics of the Northmen were, (1) a curious stone tower at Newport, R. I., now known to be the ruin of a stone windmill built about 1675 by Benedict Arnold, governor of Rhode Island; (2) an inscription in picture-writing upon Dighton Rock, near Taunton, Mass., now known to have been the work of Algonquin Indians.

trade between Europe and Asia by ship and caravan, by way of Egypt and the Red Sea, or across Syria to the Persian Gulf, or by way of the Black and Caspian seas. After the Crusades¹ (A. D. 1096-1291) had brought the peoples of the north and west of Europe into somewhat closer knowledge of the Oriental world, this trade increased rapidly. During the thirteenth and fourteenth



OLD ROUTES OF TRADE BETWEEN EUROPE AND ASIA.

centuries the blue Mediterranean was covered with ships carrying European metals, wood, and pitch to Alexandria and other eastern seaports, and returning to the

¹ The Crusades were great military expeditions organized by the Christians of Europe to defend the rights of pilgrimage to Jerusalem and other places hallowed by events in the Saviour's life, and ultimately to recover the Holy Land from the control of the Mahometans. These expeditions began with intense enthusiasm, engaged vast numbers of men, led to terrible hardships and loss of life, and usually ended in disaster. The soldiers were called crusaders because they wore the sign of the cross. [F. A. H.]

Italian coasts with silks and cottons, pearls and spices. On such trade Genoa, Pisa, and Venice waxed rich and powerful. But as the barbarous Turks extended their sway over the Eastern Empire, until in 1453 they completed their conquest of it, these avenues of trade were gradually closed, and the Mediterranean became more and more an unsafe place for Christian vessels.

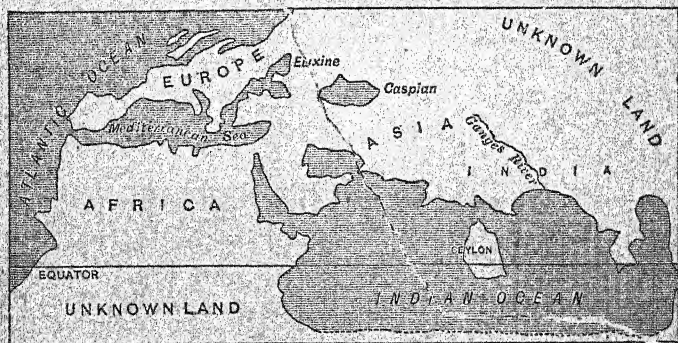
Old routes
of trade cut
off by the
Turks.

At about the same time the western nations of Europe were becoming more united within themselves, stronger, richer, and more enterprising. There was less private war than formerly, respect for law had somewhat increased, capital was somewhat safer, and there was a growing demand for comforts and luxuries. It was, therefore, just as the volume of trade with Asia was rapidly swelling that the routes into Asia were cut off by the piratical Turks. It became necessary to find other routes than those hitherto traversed, and naturally the first attempt was to see what could be done by sailing down the west coast of Africa. Work in this direction was begun in 1418 by Prince Henry of Portugal, celebrated as Henry the Navigator; but it was slow work. Ocean navigation in those days was clothed with all sorts of imaginary terrors, and, moreover, people were not wonted to equipping and victualing ships for long voyages. One Portuguese captain would venture a few hundred miles farther than his predecessor and then turn back. It was not until 1471 that the equator was reached and crossed, and still there seemed to be no end to Africa!

Necessity
of finding
an ocean
route to
Asia.

13. Two Famous Geographers. Very little was really known in those days about the world outside of Europe. Two books on geography, both written many centuries before, were considered great authorities on all disputed

points. One of these books was written in Greek about A. D. 150, by Claudius Ptolemy, a native of Egypt; the other was written in Latin still earlier, about A. D. 50, by Pomponius Mela, a native of Spain. A glance at the two maps here inserted¹ will show how both these geographers believed in the existence of a great unvisited continent south of the equator; only, Ptolemy believed this imaginary continent to be joined to Africa and to Asia, while Mela believed it to be separated by an ocean intervening. According to Ptolemy, it would be impossible to sail from Spain around Africa into the Indian Ocean. According to Mela, such a voyage could be made without even crossing the equator. Therefore, when, in 1471, Portuguese sailors crossed the equator without finding an end to the African coast, the prospect was discouraging. Ptolemy

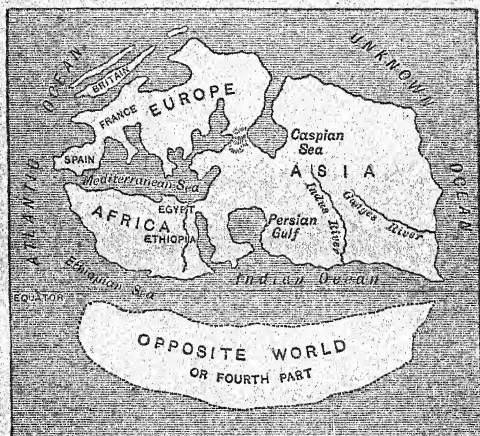


PTOLEMY'S IDEA OF THE WORLD, A. D. 150.

might turn out to be right; and at any rate a voyage to Asia in this direction was going to be a very long voyage. Some inquiring minds began to ask if there could possibly be any shorter route. Among these inquiring spirits

¹ Both are greatly simplified by the omission of details.

was Christopher Columbus,¹ a native of Genoa, who came to Lisbon about 1470 and took part in some of the exploring voyages on the African coast. The solution of the question was very startling.



MELA'S IDEA OF THE WORLD, A. D. 50.

14. The Earth a Round Ball. Three centuries before the Christian era, Aristotle² had proved that the earth is a round ball, and nearly all learned ancient writers after him adopted this view. Ptolemy held that the circumference of the earth at the equator is about 21,600 miles. In the time of Columbus nearly all learned men were clergymen, and for the most part they believed as they were taught by Aristotle and Ptolemy; but the general public, including many ignorant clergymen, believed that the earth was a flat plane surface. But whether the earth

¹ In Italian the name is Cristóforo Colombo; in Spanish it is Cristóbal Colon.

² A famous Greek philosopher, the most learned man of his times, and one of the greatest thinkers that ever lived. His writings covered nearly the entire range of human knowledge.

was round or flat, the idea of sailing to the west in order to get to the east was very startling when it was proposed to put it into practice. It is one thing to maintain a theory with your lips or your pen, and it is quite another thing to risk your life in proving that it is practically true. If the earth is really a globe, then it ought to be possible to sail westward across the Atlantic Ocean to the eastern shores of Asia. Soon after 1471 this idea occurred to several persons, one of whom was Columbus; and Columbus soon made up his mind to try the experiment.

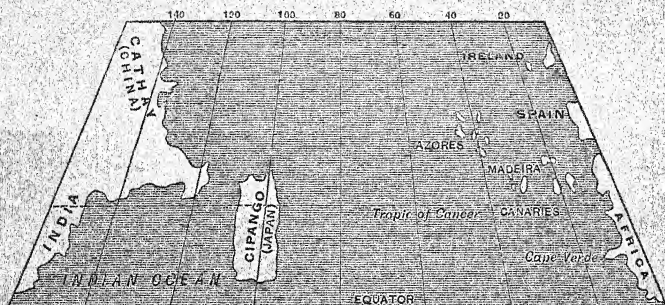
Sailing west in order to get to the east.

The plan of Columbus: How long would the voyage be?

The whole point of the enterprise lay in the distance to be traversed. The desired goal was the remote parts of Asia, whence came silks and pearls and spices, — what we know as China, and Japan, and the East Indies. Was the shortest route to this goal westward or southward? The Portuguese were sailing southward in the hope of passing around Africa to Hindustan; would it be shorter to sail westward in the hope of getting straight to Japan? Columbus asked advice from the famous astronomer Toscanelli,¹ who assured him that it would be shorter. So little was really known about the length of Asia that Toscanelli imagined that continent to extend eastward very near to where we now know Lower California to be. As for Japan, people had heard of such an island kingdom about a thousand miles east of China. The name was usually pronounced Chipango, and was often written Cipango. Toscanelli thought it must be about where we now know the Gulf of Mexico to be. He made a map to illustrate his view of the case, and sent it to Columbus, who prized it highly, and carried it with him.

¹ Toscanelli was born in Florence in 1397. The map in the text has been simplified so that its essential features may be more easily grasped.

on his first voyage of discovery. He intended from the first to make the Canary Islands his point of departure,



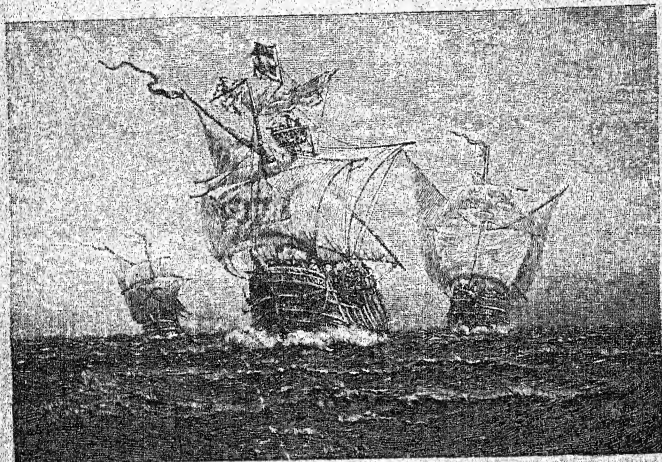
TOSCANELLI'S MAP (1474) USED BY COLUMBUS ON HIS FIRST VOYAGE.

and we can now see that if Japan had been where he supposed it was, his whole plan was right ; for the voyage from the Canaries into the Gulf of Mexico is much shorter than the voyage around the Cape of Good Hope to India.

15. The Great Voyage of Columbus. Such was the origin of Columbus's plan ; he thought that the shortest route to Asia would be found by sailing westward across the Atlantic Ocean. In those days the help of some government was necessary for such a costly enterprise, and it was a long time before Columbus was able to get such help. He tried Portugal first, and then Spain, and sent his brother to seek aid first from England and then from France. At length he succeeded in making an arrangement with the Spanish sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella, and three small ships were fitted out for him and manned with ninety men. On the 3d of August, 1492, Columbus sailed from the little port of Palos for the Canaries. After some delay there, he set sail on the 6th of September

First voyage of Columbus across the Atlantic.

with his prows turned westward into the unknown ocean. It was the most daring thing that had ever been done. Other brave mariners had sailed many a league along strange coasts, and won deserved renown; but Colum-



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SHIPS OF COLUMBUS.

bus was the first to bid good-by to the land and steer straight into the trackless ocean in reliance upon a scientific theory. This fact is of itself enough to make him one of the most sublime figures in history.

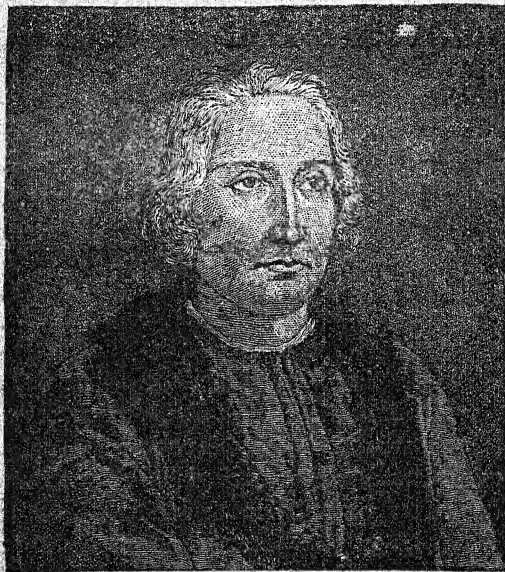
After a voyage of thirty-five days land was discovered at two o'clock in the morning of October 12,¹ 1492. It was one of the Bahama Islands, but which one is not known. Before returning to Spain Columbus sailed along the shores of Cuba and Hayti, landing here and there and sending parties inland to examine the country. He was astonished at not finding splendid cities such as he had expected to find in Asia. But he had no doubt that he had reached Japan or some part of Asia.

¹ In old style, October 12; in new style, October 21. See Appendix H.

16. The Second and Third Voyages of Columbus.

His return home with this news aroused great excitement in Spain and Portugal, and among intelligent mariners in England and elsewhere. On his second voyage, in September, 1493, it was difficult to restrain people from embarking with him. Everybody expected to get rich in a moment. A colony was founded upon the island of Hayti, but no silks or spices or precious stones were found, nor any gold as yet. On

His second voyage.



COLUMBUS.¹

the other hand, hard labor had to be endured, as well as hunger and sickness, and the disappointed colonists laid all the blame upon the "foreign upstart," Columbus. As his enterprise, moreover, did not bring money into

¹ After a painting in the Ministry of Marine at Madrid.

the treasury, but entailed new expenses, he soon lost favor at court, and his troubles were many. He cruised among the islands of the Caribbean Sea, and on His third voyage. his third voyage, in 1498, saw land which we now know to have been the coast of South America from the mouth of the Orinoco westward for a short distance. He never doubted that all this was Asia, but wondered why he did not find Asia's riches.

17. Other Memorable Voyages. Meanwhile other navigators had been crossing the Atlantic. John Cabot, Voyages of the Cabots: a native of Genoa, in the service of Henry VII., king of England, sailed from Bristol in May, 1497, in one ship with eighteen men. On the 24th of June he came upon the coast of North America at some point difficult to determine. Some think it was at Cape Breton Island, others would have it on the coast of Labrador. John Cabot's son, Sebastian, may have been with him on this voyage. In April, 1498, the father and son set out with five or six ships upon a second voyage, and explored some part of the North American coast. In September, one of these ships put into an Irish port, much the worse for wear; when the others returned we do not know; Sebastian Cabot lived for sixty years after this, but we hear no more of his father.

Recent researches have made it nearly certain that an expedition sailed from Cadiz May 10, 1497, and returned to that port October 15, 1498, under command of Voyages of Pinzon and Vesputius. Vincent Pinzon, who had commanded one of the ships in Columbus's first voyage. A Florentine merchant, skilled in astronomy and navigation, named Amerigo Vespucci, but better known by his Latinized name as Americus Vesputius, accompanied Pinzon, and has left, in a letter to one of his friends, an account of such parts of the voyage as he thought would interest the friend.

They first saw land near Cape Honduras late in June ; they skirted part of the Gulf of Mexico, passed between Cuba and Florida, and came up the Atlantic coast as far, perhaps, as Chesapeake Bay, whence they returned to Spain after touching at one of the Bermuda Islands and capturing a cargo of slaves there.

There is much obscurity about these voyages of Pinzon and the Cabots, because they were not followed up until people had time to forget about them. No rich cities, no pearls or gold were discovered on these strange coasts ; this " Asia " was very different from what had been expected ! Just at this time news was brought to Lisbon that turned all men's eyes to the south. Vasco da Gama started from that port in 1497, sailed Voyage of Gama. around the Cape of Good Hope to the coast of Hindustan, and returned in the summer of 1499, with his ships loaded with pepper and spices, rubies and emeralds, silks and satins, ivory and bronzes. There was no doubt as to where he had been. Portugal had reached the goal after all, and not Spain ! Navigators stopped hunting in the Atlantic Ocean for Japan and the seaports of China. Columbus was now more than ever discredited, and tried to redeem his reputation by finding a strait leading into the Indian Ocean from the Caribbean Sea, for he imagined Malacca as somewhere near the place where we know Panama to be. On his fourth and last Fourth voyage of Columbus. voyage (1502-1504), he explored the coasts of Honduras and Veragua in the hope of finding such a strait. Of course he found none, and after terrible hardships returned to Spain, to die, poor and broken-hearted, at Valladolid, May 20, 1506. In spite of his failure to find the riches of Asia, he died in the belief that he had found the shortest route thither. If he could have been told that he had only discovered a continent

hitherto unknown, it would doubtless have added fresh bitterness to death.

18. The Second and Third Voyages of Vespuccius. There was nobody who could have given such information to Columbus in 1506, but many navigators were carrying on the work of discovery. The most famous of these was Americus Vespuccius. In 1499, he went as one of the pilots on a voyage upon the northern coast of South America. The coast Indians not uncommonly built their wooden villages on piles over the water, with bridges from house to house. Such a village in the Gulf of Maracaibo reminded the Spanish sailors of Venice, and they called it Venezuela ("little Venice"), a name which has since been extended to cover a vast country. The next year Pinzon struck the Brazilian coast near Pernambuco, and sailing northward discovered the Amazon. At that time Americus passed into the service of Portugal, and it is worth our while to notice the way in which this came about.

The discovery of land in the western ocean in 1492 made it necessary to adopt some rule by which Spain and Portugal might be prevented from quarreling over such coasts as their mariners might discover. The rule finally adopted in 1494 was sanctioned by Pope Alexander VI. A meridian was selected 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands, and was called "the Line of Demarcation." All heathen coasts that had been discovered, or that might be discovered, to the east of that line were to be at the disposal of Portugal; all to the west of it were to belong to Spain. Well, we have seen how Gama came back from Hindustan in 1499, loaded with treasures. Within a few months, a fleet of thirteen Portuguese ships, commanded by Cabral, started for Hindustan. Instead

Second
voyage of
Vespuccius.

The Line of
Demarca-
tion.

Voyage of
Cabral.

of hugging the African coast, Cabral kept out to sea perhaps further than he realized, and on April 22, 1500, he came upon land to starboard. It was the Brazilian coast near Porto Seguro, and Cabral was right in believ-



AMERICUS VESPUTIUS.¹

ing that it lay east of the Line of Demarcation. That was the way in which Brazil came to be a Portuguese country, while all the rest of the New World fell to the share of Spain as far as she was able to occupy it.

Cabral sent one of his ships back to Lisbon with the news. The king contrived to secure the services of Vesputius as a pilot already familiar with the western waters. Three ships sailed in May, 1501, with Americus

¹ From a very old print reproduced in *Allgemeine geographische Ephemeriden*, Weimar, 1807, vol. xxiii.

for chief pilot. They found the Brazilian coast at Cape San Roque, and explored it very thoroughly as far as the mouth of the river La Plata. They were now too far west to find anything for Portugal, so Vespuceius headed southeasterly and kept on without finding land until he reached the island of South Georgia, about 1,200 miles east of Cape Horn. There the Antarctic cold and floating ice drove them back, and they returned to Lisbon. No mariners had ever been nearly so far south before.

19. The Origin of the Name America. This voyage made a great sensation in Europe. It proved the existence of an inhabited continent, hitherto unvisited by civilized man, in the southern hemisphere. What could it be? If you look back at the Mela map on page 25, you will see how it was regarded. Mela believed there was a great southern continent, which he called "Opposite World." Geographers often called it the "Fourth Part;" Europe, Asia, Africa were three parts of the earth, and Mela's southern continent was the fourth. Nobody had ever visited this Fourth Part, and many people doubted its existence. Now Americus was supposed to have proved its existence. It was thought that Columbus and Cabot had reached Asia, and that Americus had coasted along a great continent south of Asia. The coast of Brazil was naturally supposed to be the coast of the Fourth Part. In 1507, a German professor, named Martin Waldseemüller, in a little treatise on geography, observed that he did not see why the Fourth Part should not be called AMERICA after its discoverer, Americus. At that time Columbus was not supposed to have discovered a new part of the world, but only a new route to Asia. Waldseemüller did not intend any injustice to Columbus. In consequence of his suggestion, the

name "America" came to be applied to the coast of Brazil south of the equator. After some years it was put upon maps. At first it was equivalent to Brazil; but it came to be equivalent to South America, and was finally applied to the northern continent also.

20. The Work of Discovery Completed. Vespucci made three more voyages. He returned to the service of Spain, was advanced to the highest position in the Spanish marine, and died in February, 1512. Five years after his death a European ship for the first time sailed through the Indian Ocean and on to the eastern shores of China. It was a Portuguese ship. Thus, in 1517, it was proved to be a

MAGELLAN.¹

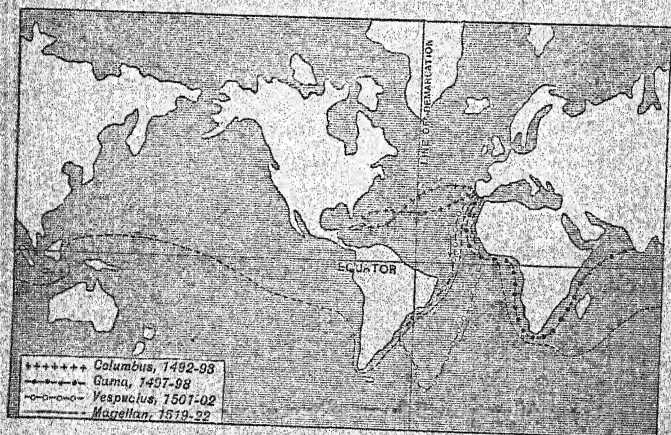
long way from China to the coasts visited by Columbus and Vespucci. In 1513, Balboa had looked down from a lofty peak in Darien upon what we now know as the Pacific Ocean. In 1519, Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese captain in command of five Spanish ships, sailed from Spain to find a passage through the Vespucci continent,

How the
Pacific
Ocean was
discovered
and
crossed.

¹ From Navarrete's *Coleccion de Viages*, tom. iv.

and a westward route to the Indian Ocean. He passed through the strait that bears his name, and in spite of mutiny, scurvy, and starvation, crossed the vast Pacific, in the most astonishing voyage that ever was made. He was killed by savages in the Philippine Islands, but one of his ships arrived in Spain in 1522, after completing the first circumnavigation of the earth.

In spite of this voyage of Magellan the idea of a connection between America and Asia was slow in disappearing. Within forty years from the death of Columbus the shape of South America was quite well known, but the knowledge of North America advanced much more slowly. Many who believed it to be distinct from Asia regarded it as merely a thin barrier of land through which a strait into the



ROUTES OF THE FOUR GREATEST VOYAGES.

Pacific Ocean might be found. It took long inland journeys to reveal the enormous width of the northern continent; and it took voyages in the northern Pacific to show its true relations to Asia. It was not until 1728

that Vitus Bering, a Danish navigator in the service of Russia, discovered the strait that bears his name.

TOPICS AND QUESTIONS.

11. THE VOYAGES OF THE NORTHMEN.

1. The first historical accounts of voyages to America.
2. Who were the Northmen?
3. Their settlement of Iceland and Greenland.
4. Give an account of the voyage of Leif.
5. Where was Vinland, and why was it so named?
6. Tell about Karlsefni's colony and its fate.
7. Why are the Icelandic chronicles thought to be true?
8. Was New England really settled by the Northmen?

12. TRADE BETWEEN EUROPE AND ASIA.

1. Why did the Vinland voyages interest Europe so little?
2. What trade had Europe carried on from ancient times?
3. What effect had the Crusades on this trade?
4. Why did it become important to find a new route to Asia?
5. How did the Portuguese try to get there?

13. TWO FAMOUS GEOGRAPHERS.

1. Ptolemy and his idea of the world.
2. Mela and his idea of the world.
3. Ptolemy's belief about sailing from Spain around Africa.
4. Mela's belief about sailing from Spain around Africa.
5. How did the question of a shorter route arise?

14. THE EARTH A ROUND BALL.

1. What Aristotle and Ptolemy thought about the earth's shape.
2. What learned people thought about it in Columbus's time.
3. What ignorant people thought about it.
4. How did the scheme of reaching the east, by sailing west, strike people?
5. How did Toscanelli locate Asia and Japan?

15. THE GREAT VOYAGE OF COLUMBUS.

1. Royal help at last.
2. The fleet and the crew.
3. The departure.
4. Wherein Columbus surpassed others.
5. The discovery of land.
6. What perplexed Columbus.

16. THE SECOND AND THIRD VOYAGES OF COLUMBUS.

1. The pressure to embark with Columbus.
2. How Columbus lost favor with the colonists.
3. What he discovered on his third voyage.
4. His continued belief and wonder.

17. OTHER MEMORABLE VOYAGES.

1. Those of the Cabots.
 - a. In whose service?
 - b. The coasts explored.
2. That of Pinzon.
 - a. The coasts visited.
 - b. His famous companion.
3. That of Gama.
 - a. The country visited.
 - b. The route taken.
 - c. The treasures brought back.
 - d. The effect on men's thoughts.
4. The last by Columbus.
 - a. His failing reputation.
 - b. His aim in this voyage.
 - c. His hardships and death.
 - d. His dying belief.

18. THE SECOND AND THIRD VOYAGES OF VESPUCCIUS.

1. The story of his first voyage reviewed (1497-1498).
2. The coasts visited on his second voyage (1499-1500).
3. The "Line of Demarcation."
4. The purpose of Cabral's voyage in 1500.
5. How Brazil came to belong to Portugal.
6. The purpose of Vespucci's third voyage.
7. Show how this purpose shaped the voyage.

19. THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME AMERICA.

1. Why Europe was excited over Vespucci's third voyage.
2. The "Opposite World" or "Fourth Part."
3. What Vespucci was supposed to have discovered.
4. The name given to this Fourth Part.
5. The gradual extension of the name.

20. THE WORK OF DISCOVERY COMPLETED.

1. The first proof that it is a long way west to China.
2. The discovery of the Pacific Ocean.
3. The first voyage around the world.

4. The growth of knowledge about South and North America.
5. The final proof of their separation from Asia.

SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS AND DIRECTIONS.

1. Mention some facts in geography not known in 1492.
2. Make out a table of the discoveries described in the text:

LAND DISCOVERED.	BY WHOM.	WHEN.	FOR WHOM.

3. Trace each voyage on the map.
4. How may a country already inhabited be said to be discovered?
5. Did Vespucci himself in any way wrong Columbus?
6. Are the days of discovery in geography gone by? If not, tell in what directions discoveries are still looked for.
7. What is the favorite modern scheme of a short route to Asia?

TOPICS FOR COLLATERAL READING.

From Fiske's *The Discovery of America*:

1. Voyages of the Northmen to Vinland, i. 164-172.
2. The ships of the Vikings, i. 172-175.
3. The Northmen and the Skraelings, i. 185-192.
4. Obstacles to navigation in the fifteenth century, i. 309-316.
5. The first voyage of Columbus, i. 419-445.
6. The last voyage of Columbus, i. 505-513.
7. Vespucci and the "New World," ii. 96-108.

For those teachers who would like to encourage something like original work on the part of their abler pupils, the following *Old South Leaflets* on the discovery of America furnish admirable material. They are prepared by Mr. Edwin D. Mead, and published by Directors of Old South Work, Old South Meeting House, Boston, at five cents a copy, or three dollars per hundred. No. 29, *The Discovery of America*, from the Life of Columbus, by his son Ferdinand Columbus; No. 30, *Strabo's Introduction to Geography*; No. 31, *The Voyages to Vinland*, from the Saga of Eric the Red; No. 32, *Marco Polo's Account of Japan and Java*; No. 33, *Columbus's Letter to Gabriel Sanchez*, describing the First Voyage and Discovery; No. 34, *Americus Vesputius's Account of his First Voyage*.

COLONIZATION OF NORTH AMERICA. 1493-1763.

CHAPTER III.

THE SPANIARDS. 1493-1565.

21. The Spanish Conquest of the Half-Civilized Indians. Like Saul, who went forth to seek his father's stray asses and found a kingdom, the great mariners of the fifteenth century achieved something very different from what they were dreaming of. They set out to find new routes for trade with China and India, and without knowing it they discovered a New World in which to plant European civilization. Commercial and religious motives—the desire to make money and to save souls—governed the earliest adventurers upon American soil. The Spaniards, who were first in the field, sought diligently for the rich cities of eastern Asia of which they had heard. In 1517-19, they made their way into Yucatan and Mexico, where they found the strange-looking fortified towns of the half-civilized Indians and mistook them for Asiatic cities. In the course of a few years the Spaniards discovered and conquered the whole region inhabited by semi-civilized Indians, from Mexico down to Chili, except at the two extreme ends. In southern Chili they encountered a race of Indians who could not be conquered. These Indians, the Araucanians, are to-day quite civilized, and form a part of the republic of Chili, retaining their own

Aims and
motives of
the Spanish
discoverers.

self-government. As for the northern end of the semi-civilized region, we shall presently see what happened there.

In Mexico and Peru the Spaniards found great quantities of gold and silver. They settled in these countries in small numbers as conquerors ruling over a large native population. They converted the Indians to Christianity and introduced Spanish laws and customs to some extent. The chief interest of the Spanish government in its American possessions was their gold and silver. Some of the richest mines were at Potosi, in the Bolivian Andes. To prevent other nations from approaching these mines from the Atlantic coast by way of the river La Plata, the Spaniards founded colonies upon that river and near its mouth, which afterward developed into the states of Paraguay, Uruguay, and Buenos Ayres. They also made settlements upon the coast of Venezuela because it abounds in rich pearl-fisheries. Except for these places, and the West India islands where they made their first settlements, and except for Florida about to be mentioned, the territory occupied by the Spaniards in the New World was exactly the territory occupied by the half-civilized Indians. The Spaniards simply took possession of those Indian countries and turned over a large part of their revenues to the government at Madrid. The Spanish colonies were, therefore, very different from the English colonies, which introduced a purely European society into the New World.

Spanish
settlements
in America.

Territory
occupied by
the Span-
iards.

22. The Spaniards on the North Atlantic Coast. In invading the region of the barbarous Indians in North America, the Spaniards did not achieve great success. The first of their ventures upon the soil of what is now the United States was made by Juan Ponce de Leon, a

brave knight who had come out with Columbus in his second voyage. There was a story of a wonderful fountain somewhere in eastern Asia, by drinking of which one might perpetually renew one's youth. From something said by the Indians in Cuba, the Spaniards got the idea that this fountain was situated a little to the north of that island, and Juan Ponce went in search of it. On Easter Sunday, 1513,¹ he came within sight of a coast which he called "Land of Easter," or in Spanish, "Terra de Pascua Florida;" and it has ever since been known as Florida. In 1521, he tried to make a settlement on this coast, but was defeated and mortally wounded by the Indians.

After the return of Magellan's expedition, in 1522, a good many people's eyes began to open to the fact that these strange shores were not a part of Asia, but a barrier in the way to Asia, and some mariners began trying to find some new channel through this barrier.

The strait of Magellan was so far to the south that people desired some shorter route, and it was hoped that some strait or channel might be found to the north of Florida. So little was yet known of what we call North America that many people expected to find only groups of islands where we know that there is the coast of a very broad continent. Thus began the famous search for a "Northwest Passage" to Asia. The Northwest Passage was finally discovered in 1854, by Sir Robert McClure, who passed from Bering Strait through the islands of the Arctic Ocean to Davis Strait, and so out into the Atlantic. The search was begun 330 years earlier by Vasquez d'Ayllon, who came up from Hayti in 1524, and tried the James River and Chesapeake Bay in the hope of find-

The search
for a
"North-
west Pas-
sage."

¹ This date is often given incorrectly as 1512.

ing a passage there. Disappointed in this, he came two years later, with six hundred people, and began to build a town on the James River, very near where the English afterward founded Jamestown. Ayllon's town was called San Miguel. He employed negro slaves in building it; and this seems to have been the first instance of negro slave labor within the territory since covered by the United States. Starvation, disease, and Indian tomahawks soon destroyed Ayllon and his little colony.

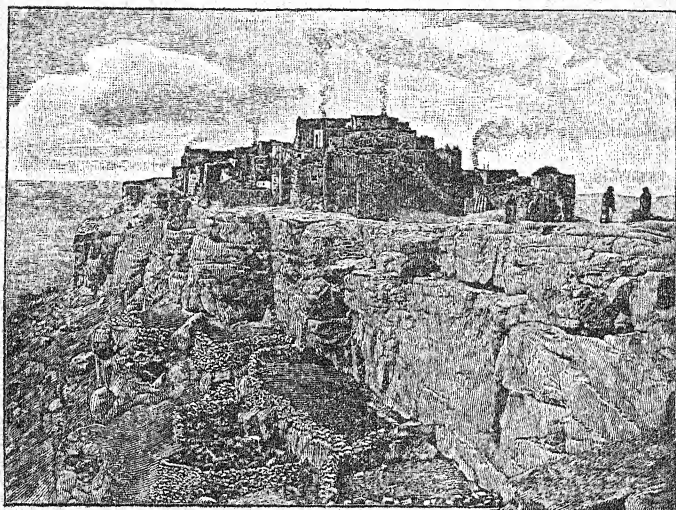
While these things were going on, in 1525, Spanish ships, commanded by Estevan Gomez, followed our coasts from Labrador to Florida, taking notice of Cape Cod, Narragansett Bay, and the mouths of the Connecticut, Hudson, and Delaware rivers. As he found neither gold nor a northwest passage, his expedition was considered a failure.

23. Spanish Adventures to the Westward. Voyagers upon the western Florida coast had ascended Mobile Bay and found the Indians wearing gold ornaments. It was accordingly thought that there might be another Mexico in that direction, and, in 1528, Panfilo de Narvaez started with four ships and four hundred men to explore these coasts. The expedition got scattered; Narvaez and many of his men were drowned at the mouth of the Mississippi River; others got ashore and were captured by the Indians. Four of these captives—the treasurer, Cabeza de Vaca, with two Spanish sailors and one negro—had wonderful adventures.

Adventures of Cabeza de Vaca.

These Indians had never seen white men or black men, and they regarded their captives as supernatural beings or great wizards; so they did not kill them, but carried them about in their wanderings. In the course of eight years Vaca and his comrades traveled over 2,000 miles, keeping westward until they reached the Gulf of Cali-

fornia, where they found Spanish friends from Mexico. In the course of their wanderings they heard stories about Zuñi and other pueblos far to the northward. In 1539, the Spanish viceroy of Mexico sent a monk named



WOLPI.¹

Marcos de Nizza to inquire into the truth of these stories, and this monk reached a hill from which he could see the Zuñi pueblos. The next year Francisco Coronado. de Coronado started northward with 300 Spaniards and 800 Mexican Indians; he discovered the Grand Cañon of the Colorado River, visited the Moqui and Zuñi

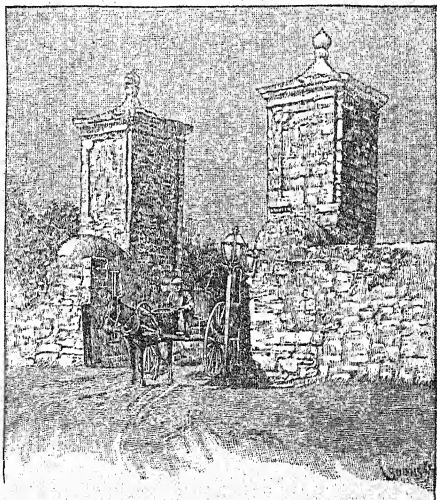
¹ Wolpi is one of the fortified pueblos of the Moquis of northeastern Arizona. Situated on the summit of a steep hill, it is very difficult for an enemy to approach it. The illustration shows the way in which cattle and sheep are penned. The gardens are down in the irrigated fields below, and all the water has to be carried up the hill in jars; this is regularly done by the women. The buildings are entered at the top by ladders, and the interior of a room is represented in the illustration on page 9.

pueblos, and went as far, perhaps, as some point on the south fork of the Platte River, or possibly somewhat further to the east. He returned to Mexico in 1542, disgusted at not having found gold or wealthy kingdoms.

24. Further Attempts at Conquest and Colonization.

While Coronado was making these long marches, another Spanish knight was engaged in the same kind of search in the eastern part of the continent. Fernando de Soto, governor of Cuba, started in 1539, with ^{Fernando de Soto.} nine ships, carrying 570 men and 223 horses. From Florida he advanced very slowly northward and westward, encountering desperate opposition from the Creek Indians. In the

spring of 1542, the party crossed the Mississippi River, and went up the western bank as far perhaps as New Madrid. They found dreadful hardships, but no rich treasures. Soto died of fever and was buried in the great river; the remnant of his men built boats in which they



SPANISH GATEWAY AT ST. AUGUSTINE.

sailed down stream and out to sea, and after much suffering reached the Mexican coasts.

In 1546-49, the Spaniards made an attempt to found a colony in Florida, but all the settlers were massacred by

the Indians. Further unsuccessful attempts were made from time to time until 1565, when St. Augustine, the oldest city in the United States, was founded by Menendez. On this occasion the Spaniards came into conflict with the French. For the first time we find Spaniards meeting with European rivals in the New World, and we have next to see how this came about.

Settlement
of St.
Augustine.

TOPICS AND QUESTIONS.

21. THE SPANISH CONQUEST OF THE HALF-CIVILIZED INDIANS.
 1. The aims and motives of the Spanish discoverers.
 2. The extent and limits of their conquests.
 3. The Spaniards' chief interest in their American possessions.
 4. How they guarded the Potosi mines, and what came of it.
 5. How the Spanish colonies differed from the English (*a*) in respect to the kind of Indians dealt with, and (*b*) in respect to the general mode of handling them.
22. THE SPANIARDS ON THE NORTH ATLANTIC COAST.
 1. The "Fountain of Youth."
 2. Ponce de Leon and his search for the fountain.
 3. How Florida came to be so named.
 4. New views about Florida and the regions to the north.
 5. Why mariners were led to search for the "Northwest Passage."
 6. The beginning of the search.
 7. The site, building, and fate of San Miguel.
 8. The final discovery of the passage.
23. SPANISH ADVENTURES TO THE WESTWARD.
 1. The search for a new Mexico, and how it ended.
 2. How the Indians regarded Vaca and his fellow captives.
 3. The wanderings of Vaca.
24. FURTHER ATTEMPTS AT CONQUEST AND COLONIZATION.
 1. The expedition of Fernando de Soto.
 2. Its disasters and ruin.
 3. The settlement of St. Augustine.
 4. The first European rivals of the Spaniards.

SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS AND DIRECTIONS.

1. Why do intelligent people nowadays refuse to believe in a

fountain of youth? Mention some other belief as fascinating and absurd as this in a fountain of youth. Show how a strong belief, whether well grounded or not, may affect the course of history.

2. With what half-civilized Indians did the Spaniard contend? With what barbarous Indians? Why did the Spaniards succeed with the former and fail with the latter? What is the difference between half-civilized people and barbarous people?
3. Trace a passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific by way of the Arctic Ocean, telling through what bodies of water, straits, etc., the way lies. Is this passage of service to commerce? Reasons for your answer.
4. Was America discovered at once? Is it all discovered now? Is enough discovered to make a map of its entire general shape? Does Greenland belong to America?
5. It is said on page 71 that negro slavery in the United States began at Jamestown in 1619. Reconcile this statement with what is said about Ayllon's slaves, page 43, and Hawkins's slaves, pages 59, 60.
6. What were probably some of the reasons urged by good men in favor of slavery? What is the great objection to slavery? Does any enlightened nation to-day tolerate slavery? Is slavery everywhere abolished?
7. Of what use is it to know when and by whom a country was discovered? Since one cannot know when and by whom all countries were discovered, what discoveries should one consider first of all? What may one be pardoned for not knowing?
8. Granted that most of what one reads about Soto is destined to be forgotten, what things about him had one better try to save from such forgetfulness?
9. The teacher should try to cultivate in his pupils the historical imagination, — the power to utilize such material as they may have in creating pictures of the past. Let him, for example, ask them to describe the burial of Soto, the picture to be of their own making. They may be readily led to see that the picture should show a river, a company of Spaniards in a boat or boats, a priest probably, some signs of a burial service, and a general look of sadness. If they cannot go further, the teacher may lead them to tell what

they would like to know to complete the picture, as, for instance, whether the burial was by day or by night, what kind of boats or vessels were used, how the Spaniards were dressed, what moment of the service was best fitted for the artist, whether in such a picture the expression of faces should be brought out, what the effect of midnight might be on its details, etc. Young people cannot be expected to do a high order of work in this direction, but the beginnings, at least, of a valuable training may be made here, and the foundations laid for making such inquiries as these:

- a. Are pictures of historical events or scenes strictly true of all the details of such events or scenes?
- b. What sort of truth should these pictures present? What things in the real may be changed or omitted in the picture?
- c. Is a map true to all the details of the region it shows? Would its value be increased by increasing the number of its facts? Is its value ever increased by reducing its details?
- d. Mention some things that are never attempted in pictures.
- e. Select illustrations in this book, and inquire how far they may be trusted, and how far not.
- f. What is the object of a picture in this book?
- g. Select events or scenes in this history that would make striking subjects for pictures.

Work in this vein cannot be carried far without making it clear that no one can put into a picture what he has not already in mental possession, and that all attempts to see with the mind's eye the vanished past involve, first, adding to one's store material that belongs to that past, and, secondly, using one's resources, old and new, in bringing back that past by an effort of the imagination.

10. Fill out from the text a table somewhat like the following:

DATES.	SPANISH EXPLORERS.	REGIONS VISITED.	SETTLEMENTS MADE.

TOPICS FOR COLLATERAL READING.

From Fiske's *The Discovery of America*, vol. ii. :

1. The ancient city of Mexico, 262-274.
2. The conquest of Mexico by Cortez, 274-290.
3. Slaves in ancient times, 427-429.
4. Negro slaves, 429-432.
5. Indian slaves, 443-447.
6. The strong and noble life of Las Casas :
 - a. The man himself, 437-441.
 - b. His Indian slaves set free, 450, 451.
 - c. His connection with African slavery, 454-457.
 - d. His preaching of the gospel of peace, 464-465.
 - e. His triumph over Spanish slavery, 474-476.
 - f. His deathless fame, 482.
7. The search for the Northwest Passage, 489, 490.
8. The Seven Cities of Cibola, 502-507.
9. The final proof that America is separate from Asia, 544-552.
10. Spain and the New World :
 - a. Why her colonizing spirit was limited to 1492-1570, 554, 555.
 - b. How fighting the Moors moulded the Spanish character, 556, 557.
 - c. How the Spaniards crushed out independence of thought and action, 561-565.
 - d. The effect of this on the Spanish character, 566, 567.
 - e. How England gave free play to the human mind, 567, 568.
 - f. The effect of this on the English character, 568.
 - g. The stamp of Spain and of England on the New World to-day, 569.

CHAPTER IV.

FRENCH PIONEERS. 1504-1635.

25. The Fisheries and the French. The first sailors to come from France to the New World were Breton and Norman fishermen. The abundance of codfish on the banks of Newfoundland had been noticed and reported by John Cabot in 1497, and fishing vessels from various countries soon found their way thither. The oldest French name in America, that of Cape Breton, is probably as old as 1504; and ships from Normandy and Brittany have kept up their fishing in those waters from that day to this. Ships from Portugal and from Biscay came also, but at first not many from England, for the English were used to catching their codfish in the waters about Iceland. Gradually, however, the English came more and more to Newfoundland, and by the end of the sixteenth century the fisheries were practically monopolized by French and English.

During that century the fisheries were almost the only link between France and the coast of North America. In 1518, Baron de Lery tried to found a colony on Sable Island, but was glad to get away before starving to death. Francis I., who became king of France in 1515, laughed at the kings of Spain and Portugal for presuming to monopolize between themselves all new discoveries east and west. Had Father Adam made them his sole heirs? If so, they had better publish the will! In 1521, war

The New-
foundland
fisheries.

broke out between France and Spain, and French cruisers began hovering about the western parts of the Atlantic, to capture Spanish gold on its way from the New World. In 1523, one of these cruisers, a Florentine, named Verrazano, captured an immense quantity of treasure on its way from Mexico. The next year Verrazano skirted the coast from Cape Fear, in North Carolina, as far probably as the Piscataqua River in New Hampshire; he seems to have entered the Hudson River and to have landed upon Rhode Island.

The fortune of war went against King Francis, and nothing more was done for ten years. Then came Jacques Cartier, who sailed up the St. Lawrence as far as an Iroquois village situated on an eminence which he called Montreal. In 1540-43, an unsuccessful attempt was made by the Sieur de Roberval, aided by Cartier, to establish a French colony in Canada. Then the French became so much occupied with their wars of religion as to give but little thought to America for the next half-century.

26. The Huguenots in Florida. During this period, however, there was one memorable attempt at colonization which grew directly out of the wars of religion. The illustrious Protestant leader, Coligny, conceived the plan of founding a Huguenot state in America, and, in 1562-65, such a settlement was begun under the lead of Jean Ribault; but in the autumn of the latter year it was wiped out in blood by Pedro Menendez. That Spanish captain landed in Florida and built the fortress which was the beginning of the town of St. Augustine. Then he attacked the French colony, overcame it by surprise combined with treachery, and butchered everybody, men, women, and children, some seven hundred in all; a very few escaped to the

woods, and after strange adventures made their way back to France.

According to the Spanish government, which laid claim to the whole of North America as lying west of the Line of Demarcation, these Frenchmen were trespassers or invaders, and deserved their fate. The government of France at that moment was too subservient to Spain to call her to account; but a private gentleman,

The vengeance of
Gourgues.
1568.

named Dominique de Gourgues, took it upon himself to avenge his slaughtered countrymen. Having fitted out a secret expedition at his own expense, he sailed for Florida, surprised three Spanish

forts, slew every man of their garrisons, and returned in grim triumph to France. This was early in 1568. Menendez was at that time in Spain, but he returned two years later, and the Spaniards kept possession of Florida.

27. The Settlement of Canada. It was not until the religious wars had been brought to an end by Henry IV., in 1598, that the French succeeded in planting a colony



FRENCH DISCOVERIES AND SETTLEMENTS.

in America. They began to be interested in the north-

western fur trade as well as in the Newfoundland fisheries; and, in 1603, the Sieur de Monts obtained permission to colonize a vast tract of land extending from New York harbor to Cape Breton, and known as Acadia, a name afterward restricted to the northeastern part of this region. A monopoly of the fur trade within these limits was granted by Henry IV. to a company of which Monts was the head. So far as Monts was concerned, the enterprise was a failure; but one of his companions, Poutrincourt, succeeded, in 1604, in making the first permanent French settlement in America at Port Royal in Nova Scotia. Another of the party, Samuel de Champlain, made a settlement at Quebec four years later, and became the founder of Canada.

First settle-
ment of
Canada.

Champlain was one of the most remarkable Frenchmen of his time, —a beautiful character, devout and high-minded, brave and tender. He was an excellent naturalist, and has left some of the best descriptions we have of the Indians as they appeared when first seen by white men. Champlain explored our



CHAMPLAIN.¹

northeast coast very minutely, and gave to many places the names by which they are still known.² He was the first white man to sail on the beautiful lake which now bears his name, and he pushed his explorations as far into

¹ From the Hamel portrait engraved in Shea's *Charlevoix*, vol. ii.

² As, for example, Mount Desert, which has retained its traditional French pronunciation as far as to keep the accent on the final syllable.

the interior as to discover Lakes Ontario and Huron. He governed Canada until his death in 1635, by which time the new colony had come to be quite flourishing. In 1611, Jesuit missionaries came over and labored with remarkable zeal and success in converting the Indians. Missions were established as far inland as the Huron country, and the good priests often distinguished themselves as brave and intelligent explorers. The fur trade began to assume large dimensions, and French rovers formed alliances with the Indian tribes in the neighborhood of the Great Lakes. The French usually got on well with the Indians; they knew how to treat them so as to secure their friendship; they intermarried with them, and adopted some of their habits.

28. The French and the Iroquois. Nevertheless, in one quarter the French offended the Indians, and raised up for themselves a formidable enemy who had much to do with their failure to establish their power on a permanent basis in America. We have seen that Cartier, in 1535, found an Iroquois village on the site of Montreal. There was no such village when Champlain arrived; the Algonquin tribes of the neighborhood had either destroyed these Iroquois or driven them back upon their brethren of the Mohawk valley. Between Algonquins and Iroquois there was unquenchable hatred. It was natural that Champlain should court the friendship of the Algonquin tribes on the St. Lawrence, for they were his nearest neighbors. He undertook to aid them against their hereditary foes. In 1609, he accompanied them in an expedition against the formidable Mohawks, the easternmost of the tribes composing the Iroquois Confederacy known as the Five Nations. A battle was fought near the site of Ticonderoga, and Champlain won an easy victory over

Jesuits
among the
Indians

Enmity be-
tween the
French and
the Iro-
quois.

the astonished Mohawks, who had never before seen a white man or heard the sound of a musket.

But this victory, as we shall see by and by, was a fatal one for the French. It made the

Battle of
Ticonde-
roga.
1609.

Iroquois their deadly enemies. From that time forth, the warriors of the Five Nations hated the French with unappeasable hatred, and were ready to make alliances with any white men who were hostile to the French.

- This should be remembered as one of the most important facts in early American history, and the date of this first Ticonderoga battle should not be forgotten. It will hereafter be shown how this hostility of the Iroquois kept the French away from the Hudson River and prevented them from getting control of New York.

TOPICS AND QUESTIONS.

25. THE FISHERIES AND THE FRENCH.

1. What brought French sailors to the New World?
2. Why were there so few Englishmen at first on the Newfoundland banks?
3. What did the King of France think of Spanish and Portuguese claims to all new lands?
4. How did France harass Spain in America?
5. Describe Verrazano's career.
6. What unsuccessful attempts were made to found French colonies during the sixteenth century?

26. THE HUGUENOTS IN FLORIDA.

1. The settlement of Ribault.
2. Its destruction by Menendez.
3. The Spanish reason for its overthrow.
4. The vengeance of Gourgues.
5. The nation in final possession.

27. THE SETTLEMENT OF CANADA.

1. What led the French to renew their efforts to plant colonies?
2. Give an account of Acadia.
3. What rights did Monts receive from Henry IV.?
4. What two settlements grew out of the enterprise of Monts?
5. Describe Champlain as a man.

6. How does he figure in geography and history?
7. Tell about the work of the Jesuit missionaries.
8. How did the French treat the Indians?
28. THE FRENCH AND THE IROQUOIS.
 1. What Indian friendship did Champlain court? Why?
 2. How did Champlain favor his Indian friends?
 3. Tell the story of the battle of Ticonderoga under the following heads:
 - a. The opposing parties.
 - b. The date, and a reason for remembering it.
 - c. One cause of Champlain's easy victory.
 - d. Far-reaching consequences of the Mohawk defeat.

SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS AND DIRECTIONS.

1. Where are the banks of Newfoundland? What fish are caught there? Why should fish be so abundant there? How extensive are the banks? From what countries do fishermen go there? Who own these banks? Do fish in the ocean belong to any person or any country in particular? Do fish in harbors, rivers, brooks, and inland waters belong to people in such a way as to make it wrong for other people to catch them? Have the banks of Newfoundland had anything to do with history? If so, tell in what way. Find on some map the places from which the fishermen mentioned in the text used to come to the banks.
2. Where did the Spaniards get their gold in the New World? Why is gold prized so highly? What gives it its value? If it were as abundant as gravel, would it retain its value? What would continue to be true of it in spite of such abundance? What would cease to be true of it because of such abundance? Would one be rich if he had plenty of gold, but could not exchange it for other things?
3. Where, when, why, and by whom was the Line of Demarcation established? What history hinges on this line (that is, tell something that has happened because such a line was fixed)? (See pages 32, 33.)
4. What is meant by a monopoly of the fur trade? Mention some monopoly that exists to-day. Why do the owners of a monopoly like it? Why do others frequently dislike it? If one invents something, is he entitled to exclusive control of it? If others seek to appropriate it, what is there to hinder?

How is the monopoly of an invention unlike the monopoly of a fur trade?

5. What animals furnished fur for the fur trade? What sort of trouble was likely to arise about a valuable fur trade in the wilderness of America? What different peoples were deeply interested in this trade? Has this trade been the means of affecting American history in any way? If so, tell how. What recent trouble has there been over an Alaskan fur trade?
6. Obtain No. 17 of the Old South Leaflets, entitled *Verrazano's Voyage*. It is a translation of Verrazano's own account of his voyage, and the earliest known description of the shores of the United States. His account is one of the original documents on which historians rely. It will help young people to get an inkling of what real investigation is, if they will try to answer from the leaflet such questions as these:
 - a. What did Verrazano say the object of his expedition was?
 - b. What facts did he observe about people along the coast?
 - c. Mention some differences between the northern Indians and the southern as he saw them.
 - d. Tell some sound views about the earth that Verrazano held; also some views of his that have since proved to be unsound.

Let the teacher ask other questions to set his pupils "foraging" in this interesting letter.

7. Where did the Indians first face firearms? What was the effect upon them? How did these firearms differ from modern ones? Find occasions when the Indians in their fighting relied on spears, bows, arrows, and such weapons.
8. Fill out from the text a table of French explorers in accordance with the following plan:

DATES.	FRENCH EXPLORERS.	REGIONS VISITED.	SETTLEMENTS MADE.

TOPICS FOR COLLATERAL READING.

From Parkman's *Pioneers of France in the New World*:

1. America a region of wonder and mystery, 9, 10.
2. Dreams of treasures in Florida, 12, 13.
3. The adventures of Fernando de Soto, 13-17.
4. The Indians of Florida in 1565, 36, 42, 50-58.
5. The bold undertaking of Menendez, 99-104.
6. The fate of Fort Caroline, 114-130.
7. The massacre of the French settlers, 131-144.
8. The vengeance of the French, 162-174.
9. The fisheries of Newfoundland, 188-190.
10. The Isle of Demons, 190-192.
11. Cartier and the Indians of the St. Lawrence, 202-215.
12. Incidents in the career of Samuel de Champlain:
 - a. His curious journal, 238.
 - b. Baffled by the St. Lawrence, 242.
 - c. On the coast of New England, 253-256.
 - d. The founding of Quebec, 329-331.
 - e. A hard winter at Quebec, 333-336.
 - f. On the war-path with Indians, 339-347.
 - g. Fighting the Iroquois on Lake Champlain, 348-352.
 - h. Fighting the Iroquois on the St. Lawrence, 354-360.
 - i. His trip up the Ottawa, 368-382.
 - j. Fighting the Iroquois in their homes, 339-406.
 - k. The fall of Quebec, 434-440, 448-450.
 - l. The summing up of his life, 452-454.

CHAPTER V.

THE ENGLISH IN VIRGINIA. 1584-1676.

29. The Coming of the English. The French were not the only rivals who came to dispute the claims of Spain to the possession of North America. The English were rather slow in coming upon the scene, but when they came it was to stay. It has been mentioned that John Cabot and his son visited portions of the North American coast in 1497-98. They supposed it to be an Asiatic coast, but as they found no gold and no evidences of civilization and wealth, their discovery was not regarded as important, and for many years the English made no attempts to follow it up. Afterward, however, when the English began to make settlements upon this coast, they claimed possession of it by virtue of Cabot's discovery.

The attention of the English began to be turned toward America soon after 1560, early in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. About that time the famous sailor, Sir John Hawkins, began kidnaping negroes on the coast of Guinea and bringing them to the West Indies to sell them to the Spanish colonists for slaves. Very few people in those days could see anything wrong in slavery; it seemed as proper to keep slaves as to keep cattle and horses. When Hawkins was made a knight, he took as part of his coat-of-arms the picture of a captive negro bound with a cord. Hawkins was an honest and pious man, but he actually

felt proud of his share in opening up the slave trade, as a profitable trade for England. In our time nobody but a ruffian would have anything to do with such a wicked and horrible business. Changes of this sort make us believe that the world is growing to be better than it used to be. But the improvement is very slow. The slave trade, of which Hawkins was one of the principal founders, continued to be carried on after the English had made settlements in North America, and slaves were brought here from Africa until the year 1808.

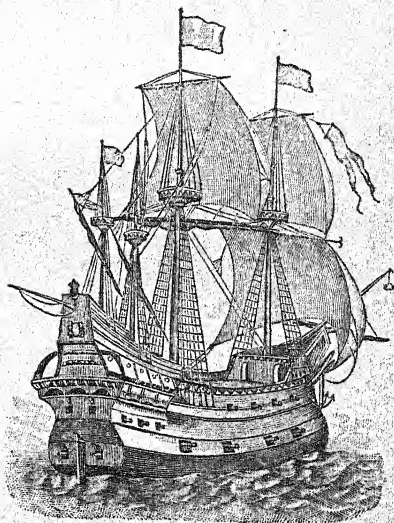
30. The Decline of Spanish Power in America.

About the time that Hawkins appeared upon the scene, Spanish activity in North America was drawing to a close. All the energy of Spain was becoming absorbed in European wars. Since 1516, the Netherlands had been subject to the Spanish crown; in 1567, their revolt against Spain began. It led to a terrible war which lasted more than forty years, until the Dutch provinces won their independence. Questions of religion as well as of politics were involved in this war, and as the Dutch were Protestants, Queen Elizabeth sent an army to help them, and thus entered into the war against Spain. The grand crisis of the war was in 1588, when Philip II., king of Spain, sent against England a fleet so great

The "Invincible Armada."
1588.

and powerful that it was called the Invincible Armada. There were 132 ships carrying more than 3,000 cannon. With the aid of this fleet, it was intended to convey across the Channel into England a Spanish army from the Netherlands. Many people believed that England would now be conquered and English liberty destroyed. But the English gathered together a fleet under Lord Howard of Effingham; the vice-admiral was Sir Francis Drake, one of the greatest seamen that ever lived, and among the rear-

admirals was Hawkins. The Spaniards had no commanders equal to these for skill in handling ships. As the Invincible Armada entered the Channel, the English ships gathered to the west of it, cutting off its retreat and wearing out its strength in a long running fight. When the defeated Spaniards were driven through the Strait of Dover into the North Sea, their doom was sealed. Their only means of getting home was to sail away to the north and around the extremity of Scotland into the Atlantic Ocean, and in this long voyage they encountered storms that wrecked nearly all the ships. Never in the world has there been a more crushing overthrow than that of the Invincible Armada. At the time when this great battle was fought, two children had already been born in England who were destined to play an important part in carrying English civilization into the New World. John Smith, founder of Virginia, was a lad of nine years; John Winthrop, founder of Massachusetts, was a babe of six months.

SPANISH GALLEON.¹

Spain never recovered from the terrible blows that England dealt her in the course of this long war. The

¹ Facsimile of sketch in *Les Marins du XV. et du XVI. Siècles.*

principal sources from which Spain got the money for her war expenses were the mines of Mexico and Peru.

Spanish treasure-ships and their fate. Ships laden with gold and silver were frequently starting from the American coasts for Spain, and, after 1570, English cruisers began

to lie in wait for these ships, and to capture them with their treasure. For boldness and vigilance Queen Elizabeth's sea-captains have never been surpassed. Sometimes they would sail into Spanish harbors and sink the war-ships and burn the merchant vessels in full sight of the people; this dangerous pastime was called "singing the King of Spain's beard." After this sort of thing had gone on for some years, England began to feel herself stronger and more at home upon the ocean than Spain.



SIR WALTER RALEIGH.¹

31. Sir Walter Raleigh. These great English cruisers were also great explorers. Drake and Cavendish carried Queen Elizabeth's flag into the Pacific, visited the coast of California, and circumnavigated the earth. Frobisher, in quest of a north-western passage to India, entered the Arctic Ocean and explored a part of it.

But the thoughts of Sir Walter Raleigh were busy with grander schemes than these. Raleigh was one of the

¹ From Stalker's engraving published in London in 1812.

most accomplished men of his time; he was something of a philosopher, poet, historian, and statesman, as well as a brilliant captain. In 1569, when he was seventeen years old, he served in the religious wars in France under the great Coligny, who was probably the first person to conceive the idea of planting in America a state that should be entirely Protestant. We have seen how the colony in Florida, which Coligny tried to found, was destroyed by the Spaniards; but the idea lived on in the mind of Raleigh, who aspired to "plant an English nation in America." In 1584, he obtained from the queen permission to make a settlement upon any territory not already occupied by any Christian power; and forthwith he devoted himself to the work of starting such a settlement upon the coast of North America. He sent several expeditions under able captains, though arduous duties at home prevented his going in person. A little colony was begun upon Roanoke Island, on the coast of what we now call North Carolina; but in those days the general name in English for all that coast was Virginia, a name given to it by the virgin Queen Elizabeth in honor of herself. The name was also given in baptism to the first American child of English parents, Virginia Dare, born on Roanoke Island, August 18, 1587. For a moment Raleigh seemed likely to succeed with his little colony; but the Invincible Armada absorbed too much attention. The colony was inadequately supported, and perished miserably. After some further attempts, in which he lost an amount of money that in our times would be equivalent to more than a million dollars, Raleigh gave up the enterprise of founding colonies, as too difficult for a single individual, and he assigned all his interests in Virginia to a joint-stock company of merchants and adventurers.

Raleigh's
attempt to
found a
colony.
1584-87.

ELIZABETH'S AUTOGRAPH.¹

For a few years nothing more was accomplished, but Raleigh had done enough to turn the minds of Englishmen steadily toward colonizing North America; so that when we mention the names of the great men who have founded the United States, it is right to begin with him. In 1792, the state of North Carolina very properly commemorated him by giving his name to her capital city.

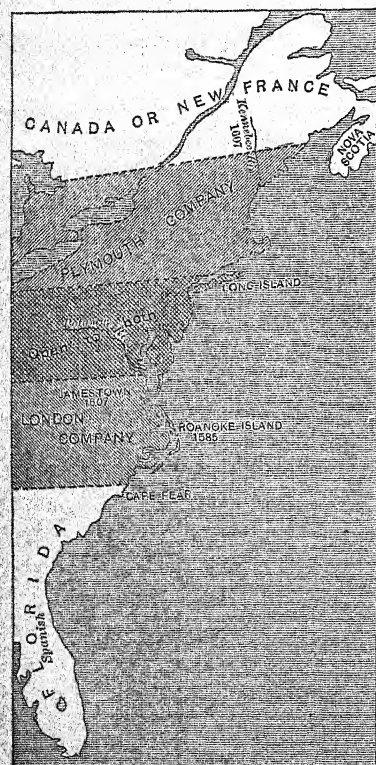
32. How Raleigh Fared with King James I. When Queen Elizabeth died, in 1603, the King of Scots came to be also King of England, as James I. He was a droll looking man, without much sense, but puffed up with the idea that he knew enough to teach all the learned men in both kingdoms. Well meaning in many respects, he was tyrannical in disposition, and thoroughly false and cowardly. He wished to keep on good terms with Spain. There was no man whom the Spanish government hated like Raleigh; and presently King James arrested him on a false charge of treason, and kept him shut up for twelve years in the Tower of London, where he improved his time by writing a delightful "History of the World." In 1616, the king let

¹ From Winsor's *America*, iii. 106.

Raleigh out in order to go and find gold in Guiana. This was encroaching upon Spanish ground, but James I. wanted money, and did not care how he got it. If anything were to go wrong, he could throw the blame on Raleigh. That gallant commander got into a fight with the Spaniards in Guiana, but returned to England without any gold. Then the king revived the old charge of treason against Raleigh, and had him beheaded.

33. The London and Plymouth Companies. But Raleigh had lived long enough to see "an English nation planted in America." In 1606, some people, interested in his schemes, organized a great double-headed company for making settlements on the Atlantic coast of the New World. One branch of it was composed chiefly of London merchants, and the other branch of persons in Plymouth and other southwestern parts, and the two were known as the London and Plymouth companies. In spite of his unwillingness to offend the Spaniards, King James was induced to grant a charter to these companies. There was much distress in England on account of people being turned out of employment. In the Netherlands there had been a great increase in the weaving of woolen cloths, and England is one of the best of countries for raising sheep. So English land owners had for some time been turning their farms into sheep pastures, in order to raise wool to sell to the Dutch. Sheep-raising does not require nearly so many men to the square mile as the cultivation of wheat and barley; and so, as the small farms were broken up, many men found themselves out of work. In this emergency preachers began to declare in their pulpits that "Virginia was a door which God had opened for England." King James thought there might be gold mines there. The charter was granted as follows :—

To the London Company the king granted the coast of North America about from Cape Fear to the mouth of the Potomac; to the Plymouth Company he granted the coast about from Long Island to Nova Scotia. These grants were to go in straight strips, or zones, across the continent from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific;¹ for so little was known about North American geography that a good many



GRANTS TO LONDON AND PLYMOUTH COMPANIES, 1606.

people believed the continent up here to be no wider than in Mexico. As for the middle strip, starting from the coast between the Potomac and the Hudson, it was open to the two companies, with the understanding that neither was to plant a colony within 100 miles of any settlement already begun by the other. This meant practically that it was likely to be controlled by whichever company should first come into the field with a flourishing colony. This made it worth while to act promptly.

The charter provided, among other things, (1) that the settlers were

¹ This provision was added in the charter of 1609.

to enjoy all the political and civil rights and privileges that belonged to free Englishmen at home; (2) that each colony should be governed by a council appointed by the king; (3) that the king should have, as his share, one fifth part of any precious metals that might be found.

34. The Founding of Jamestown. Both companies made haste and sent out parties of settlers in 1607, the one to the James River, the other to the Kennebec. To the second of these enterprises we shall return by and by; it ended in disastrous failure. The first barely escaped destruction, and laid at Jamestown the foundations of the first permanent English colony in America. There were three ships manned by 39 sailors, and besides these, there were 105 persons, of whom 52 were classed as "gentlemen," the rest as tradesmen and mechanics. As for the farmers in search of work, we do not hear of them in this first expedition; nor were there any women. The party were more intent upon finding gold than upon making new homes in the wilderness. Their food gave out, the Indians were unfriendly, and soon the settlers were attacked by fever. Within four months half of them had died; but there was one man in the company whose energy saved it from utter ruin.

That man was John Smith. He had been through many surprising adventures, if we are to take his own word for them. He had been captured by Barbary pirates, left for dead on a battlefield in Hungary, and sold into slavery in Turkey, before he had made his way home to England in time to come out to Virginia. Here his strange fortunes seemed to follow him. He was captured by the Indians, and they were on the point of knocking him on the head, when a young squaw named Pocahontas, daughter of the head war-
John Smith.

chief, rushed up to him, threw her arms about him, and saved his life. Such, at least, is his own story. It is



CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH.¹

quite in accordance with Indian usage, and there is nothing at all improbable in it; but it is doubted by some people. There is no doubt, however, that Smith was a very energetic, quick-witted, and shifty sort of man. He explored the nooks and corners of the coast, sailed up the rivers, and coaxed or bullied the Indians into giving him food for the colony. Under his di-

rection a few rude houses were put up, and a few bits of ground were scratched with a hoe and planted with corn.

Arrival of
new colo-
nists and
their fate.

In this way two years dragged along, until a new set of 500 colonists arrived. These newcomers did not improve matters. They were a wretched set, for the most part the refuse of English jails, or ruffians picked up about the streets. They came in a small fleet commanded by Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers; but the ship which carried these two commanders had been "caught in the tail of a hurricane" and cast ashore upon one of the Bermuda islands. There were no provisions of food at Jamestown fit for

¹ From the contemporary engraving published in the early editions of Smith's writings.

supplying so many people. The old tale of mutiny, hunger, and disease was repeated. Smith was disabled by a severe accident, and returned to England soon afterward. At length, Gates and Somers, having built a boat with their own hands and escaped from the Bermudas, arrived upon the scene, and found of all their men scarcely sixty left alive. They decided to abandon the enterprise and take these few survivors back to England. On the 8th of June, 1610, they had actually embarked and sailed a few miles down the James River, when they were met by three well manned ships bringing an abundance of supplies. This was the squadron of Lord Delaware, the newly appointed governor, who, when he landed at Jamestown, fell upon his knees upon the sandy beach, and, with uplifted hands, thanked God that he had come in time to save Virginia.

Within a few months, however, ill health compelled Lord Delaware to go home to England, and it was left for his successor, Sir Thomas Dale, in the course of the next five years, to set the colony firmly upon its feet. Two things happened during these five years (1611-16) to bring about such a desirable result. One was the abolition of communism, the other was the cultivation of tobacco.

35. The Colony on its Feet. Hitherto, the system under which the colonists had lived was one of communism. Land was owned in common, and whatever food anybody raised, or whatever property was got by trading with the red men, was thrown into a common pool, to be divided evenly among the settlers. The result was that the lazy ones would not work because they preferred to throw the labor upon the others; and the industrious ones were not very willing to work, since they could not keep the fruits of their

labor. Thus the support of the colony had fallen entirely upon a few persons of vast energy, like Smith, and when these had reached the end of their ability and could do no more, the people starved. The sensible Dale put an end to this state of things. Henceforth, every man was to till his own tract of land, and bring two barrels and a half of corn to the public granary; that was paying his tax for the support of the government; whatever he should raise or earn beyond this was to be his own private property. No sooner was this change made than even the lazy people began to think it worth while to work. As for thieves and mutineers, Dale hanged them without mercy, until order and decorum reigned at Jamestown.

Just as the people thus began to be set to work in the right way, they found that tobacco would buy whatever
Tobacco. they needed. The smoking of tobacco by the natives of America had first been noticed and mentioned by Columbus in 1492. The habit was introduced into England in the reign of Elizabeth, and there is an old story that Sir Walter Raleigh's servant, seeing him puff clouds of smoke from a lighted cigar, dashed a mug of beer over him to put out the dangerous fire! King James did not approve of smoking, and he wrote a pamphlet entitled "Counterblast against Tobacco," in which he declared that "the vile smoke thereof doth most resemble the Stygian fumes of the pit that is bottomless." But the English people did not mind King James very well in this or in other matters. They persisted in learning to smoke until there came to be a great demand for tobacco. Now the soil of Virginia is the best in the world for growing tobacco. In 1612, its systematic cultivation was begun by John Rolfe, and it became at once so profitable that by 1616 the settlers

were giving nearly all their time to it. With a good crop of this fragrant weed they could buy whatever else they wanted. Now respectable farmers began to come over to Virginia by hundreds, to make their fortunes. In 1619, more than 40,000 pounds of tobacco were shipped to England; by 1640, the average yearly export had reached 1,500,000 pounds; by 1670, it had reached 12,000,000 pounds.

36. The Beginning of Slavery. In order to cultivate great plantations of tobacco many laborers were needed, and cheap labor would do, because the work did not require much intelligence. So the settlers, instead of working with their own hands, began to buy slaves. In August, 1619, says Rolfe, there came in "a Dutch manne-of-war that sold us twenty negroes." ^{Negro slaves.} This was the beginning of negro slavery in the United States. At first, however, there were more white than black slaves. When prisons in England became crowded with criminals, they were now and then relieved by sending shiploads of these wretches to Virginia to be sold into slavery for a term of years. This became a profitable business, and in English seaports there were gangs of kidnapers who used to seize upon gypsies, vagabonds, and orphan children, and pack them off to Virginia. These white slaves were called "indentured servants," because the terms and conditions of their servitude were prescribed by indentures like those that were used for apprentices in England. After a while these indentured servants were set free. Now and then some of the most capable and industrious would acquire small plantations for themselves; some would lead lazy, thieving lives; some would go out to the frontier and hunt and fish like the Indians. In course of time a good many of these poor white people moved westward with the frontier

until their descendants became scattered far and wide. Very few of them came to this country after the year 1700. By that time negroes were brought from Africa in numbers sufficient to do all the work on the plantations.

37. Self-Government in Virginia. By the summer of 1619, there were 4,000 white inhabitants in Virginia. They had a governor appointed by the London Company to manage their affairs, and this arrangement would probably have satisfied Frenchmen, but it did not satisfy Englishmen. From time immemorial Englishmen had

Representative government.

been in the habit of governing themselves by means of representative bodies. Each township, or parish, used to elect some of its own men to sit as its representatives in a county court. In the thirteenth century this system had been applied to the national government in England; towns and counties chose their representatives to sit in a House of Commons; and the principle was established that no power but the House of Commons could take away the people's money in taxes. Kings sometimes tried to break down this principle, but did not succeed. The England from which the first colonists came to Virginia was a free country, a land of liberty, and the colonists brought with them their freedom to America. In 1619, the 4,000 people of Virginia were living in eleven distinct settlements, or "boroughs." They expressed an earnest desire for a representative government, and it was willingly accorded to them by the London Company. Each borough elected two representatives, or "burgesses," to sit in the first representative assembly ever held in America. It met in the choir of the little church at Jamestown on Friday, July 30, 1619. It was thereafter known as the House of Burgesses, and it was in

fact a little House of Commons for Virginia, holding in its hand the power of taxation. Thus was English self-government transplanted to Virginia. One of the burgesses in this first assembly was named Jefferson, and 157 years later one of his descendants wrote our Declaration of Independence.

The House
of Bur-
gesses.
1619.

King James did not relish these proceedings, and he had other reasons for disliking the London Company, under whose management such things were allowed to go on. That company had grown to be a powerful



RUINS OF JAMESTOWN.¹

corporation with more than a thousand stockholders, including several members of the peerage and some of the richest merchants in England. It was becoming a power in politics on the side opposed to the king, and he made up his mind to overthrow it. So he accused the company of mismanagement and brought suit against it

¹ After a sketch made in 1857. From Winsor's *America*, iii. 130.

in the courts. Timid and time-serving judges decided the case in the king's favor, and, in 1624, the company's charter was annulled. Then James set to work with his own hands to write out a code of laws for Virginia; but while he was about it he died, in March, 1625, and his son, Charles I., succeeded to the throne.

Overthrow
of the Lon-
don Com-
pany.
1624.

38. King Charles I. and the Virginians. As for King Charles, he was no more inclined than his father to look with favor upon free government in Virginia. But he had made up his mind to govern England without parliaments, and was thus obliged to try to raise money in strange and illegal ways, and this got him into such serious trouble at home that it left him very little energy or leisure for interfering with things in America. The House of Burgesses continued to hold the purse and to control the management of public affairs in Virginia.

In 1629, King Charles sent over a governor, Sir John Harvey, whose conduct soon became very oppressive. He stole money out of the treasury, and tried to sell lands that belonged to individual owners. After six years, the people deposed this dishonest governor; and although the king was very angry, and at first tried to reinstate Harvey, yet at length he thought it prudent to yield, and the people carried their point.

Sir John
Harvey.
1629-35.

In 1640, King Charles found it impossible to get on any longer without a parliament, and he summoned one which he was never afterward able to get rid of. Though many strange things happened to this parliament, it did not finally come to an end until twenty years had elapsed, and it has ever since been known as the Long Parliament. By 1643, civil war had broken out between Charles I. and the Long Parliament. A king who wages war against the representatives of the

The Long
Parlia-
ment.
1640-60.

people may be accused of committing high treason, and to this end it came with Charles. He was beheaded in 1649, and monarchy was for a few years abolished in England. Government was in the hands of Oliver Cromwell till his death, in 1658; and then, after a brief interval, monarchy was restored, in 1660, in the person of the late king's son, Charles II., who turned out to be a man of worthless character, but never became dangerous to English liberty like his father.

OLIVER CROMWELL.¹

39. Berkeley and the Cavaliers. In 1642, just before the civil war began, Sir William Berkeley came over to be governor of Virginia, and for the next five-and-thirty years was the most conspicuous figure in the history of the colony. Berkeley was an aristocrat, every inch of him, a man of velvet and gold lace, a brave soldier, an author whose plays were performed on the London stage, a devoted husband, a chivalrous friend, and, withal, a stalwart upholder of kingship, and (as we shall see) a stern and merciless judge. He did not believe in popular government. When he heard some one allude

Sir William Berkeley.

BERKELEY'S AUTOGRAPH.²

to the free schools in New England, he said he thanked God there were no such things in Virginia, nor any printing press, because too much education was apt to breed a seditious spirit.

¹ From a painting by Sir Peter Lely.

² From Winsor's *America*, iii. 147.

After the death of Charles I., a good many of his friends, belonging to what was known as the Cavalier party, came over and settled in Virginia, because they did not like the way in which things were going on in England. Among these Cavaliers were the ancestors of George Washington and other famous Virginians who were engaged in the American Revolution. From 1650 to 1670, these men came in such numbers as to give a distinct Cavalier tone to Virginian society. In England they had been country squires, and they kept up a kind of life somewhat similar in Virginia. They lived apart on their great estates, which were, for the most part, accessible by the rivers with which that country is so deeply penetrated. It was a common thing for a planter to have his own wharf where he shipped his cargo of tobacco in exchange for European merchandise. Accordingly, there were few manufactures in the colony, few merchants, and no large towns. Life was entirely rural.

40. Berkeley's Tyranny as Governor. Cromwell had allowed the House of Burgesses to elect governors of Virginia, and accordingly, in 1652, a new governor had been elected in place of Berkeley; but when Charles II. came to the throne, the House tried to show its loyalty by electing Berkeley again, and the king confirmed him. Berkeley's rule was oppressive. As the House chosen in 1661 was about what he liked, he contrived to keep it in existence until 1675, simply by adjourning it from year to year! For coolness one might suppose this sort of thing could hardly be surpassed; but the king went far beyond it. In 1673, he gave away the whole country to two of his favorites, Lords Arlington and Culpeper, as coolly as if it were an empty wilderness!

The king's
grant.
1673.

But there were now more than 40,000 white people living in Virginia; and even with a king to back them, it was not easy for two men to come and take possession of all that landed property. The king's silly grant never came to anything, but it made people very angry. Just at that moment, the Indians began burning down the inland settlements and murdering their inhabitants, and Berkeley had made himself so unpopular that he was afraid to call out the military force of the colony, lest it should turn against him. So the people were obliged to defend themselves in spite of the governor. They raised a small volunteer force, and chose for their captain Nathaniel Bacon, a young man of good birth and education who had lately come over from England. When Bacon marched against the Indians the governor proclaimed him a rebel; but this raised such a storm among the people that Berkeley was obliged to draw back and issue writs for a general election. Bacon was elected a member of the new House of Burgesses, and took a leading part in drawing up a memorial which was sent to the king, setting forth the grievous wrongs which his faithful subjects in Virginia had suffered at the hands of their governor. Twice after this Bacon started out into the wilderness at the head of his troops in order to punish the Indians, but as soon as he got out of sight Berkeley began behaving so that it was necessary for him to come back and take possession of Jamestown. On the last of these occasions, it was decided to burn the town so that the tyrant might not find a shelter in it. There were not more than a score of houses, and some of the best of these were set afire by their owners; which shows how bitterly Berkeley had come to be hated. Soon Bacon died of a fever, and Berkeley suppressed the rebellion with great cruelty,

Bacon's rebellion.
1676.

hanging twenty or more of the principal people with little more than the form of a trial. Charles II. thought best to disavow these cruelties, and recalled Berkeley to England. The old governor is said to have died of a broken heart on being reprimanded by the king; it would have been much better if he had felt some sense of responsibility toward the people whom he had been sent out to govern.

Very little immediate good was accomplished by Bacon's rebellion, but the memory of it must have sharpened the determination of Virginians not to submit to tyranny. We must now turn aside from the history of this colony, to see what had been going on in other parts of the North American coast.

TOPICS AND QUESTIONS.

29. THE COMING OF THE ENGLISH.

1. What the Cabots supposed the coast to be.
2. Why the English did not follow up their discoveries.
3. The nature of their claim to the coast when they made it.
4. Tell about Hawkins and the slave trade under these heads:
 - a. Hawkins as a kidnaper.
 - b. What people thought of slavery in his time.
 - c. Hawkins's coat-of-arms.
 - d. His personal character.
 - e. What people think of slavery to-day.
 - f. The end of the slave trade.

30. THE DECLINE OF SPANISH POWER IN AMERICA.

1. The war of the Netherlands.
2. The interest of England in the conflict.
3. The crisis of the struggle.
4. Tell about the Invincible Armada under these heads:
 - a. The greatness of the fleet.
 - b. The thing it aimed to do.
 - c. The English mode of attack.
 - d. The way back to Spain.
 - e. The fate of the Armada.
5. English cruisers and Spanish gold.

6. Singeing the King of Spain's beard.
7. The effect of all this on Spain's power and England's feeling of strength.
31. SIR WALTER RALEIGH.
 1. Some English explorers, and what they did.
 2. Raleigh as a man.
 3. Raleigh's grand idea, and where he got it.
 4. His first colony.
 5. The name Virginia.
 6. Raleigh's failure and losses.
 7. The chief thing accomplished by him.
32. HOW RALEIGH FARED WITH KING JAMES I.
 1. What kind of a man was the king?
 2. Why did he cast Raleigh into prison?
 3. Why did he let him out?
 4. How did the king dispose of Raleigh at last?
33. THE LONDON AND PLYMOUTH COMPANIES.
 1. What was the object of these companies?
 2. What distress in England turned men's thoughts to America?
 3. What land was granted to the London Company?
 4. What land was granted to the Plymouth Company?
 5. What plan was made for the middle strip?
 6. How far were these strips supposed to reach?
 7. What three things did the charter of the companies provide for?
34. THE FOUNDING OF JAMESTOWN.
 1. What kind of men were the first settlers?
 2. What were they chiefly intent upon?
 3. What misfortunes befell them?
 4. What surprising adventures did John Smith have?
 5. What did he do for the colony?
 6. Tell about the new arrivals and their fate.
 7. How was the colony saved?
35. THE COLONY ON ITS FEET.
 1. The abolition of communism.
 - a. How property was held at first.
 - b. How the system affected the people.
 - c. What Dale did to end it, and the result.
 2. The cultivation of tobacco.
 - a. The first smokers of tobacco.
 - b. The smoking habit in England.

c. Why the Virginians began to raise tobacco.

d. The effect on the growth of the colony.

36. THE BEGINNING OF SLAVERY.

1. Why did the Virginians want slaves?
2. The first cargo of negro slaves.
3. White slaves from England.
4. What became of the white slaves when set free?

37. SELF-GOVERNMENT IN VIRGINIA.

1. Tell how Virginia was governed in 1619.
2. How had Englishmen always governed themselves?
3. How far had they got in self-government in the thirteenth century?
4. Describe the Virginian borough.
5. Tell about the first representative body in America.
6. How did King James show his dislike for Virginian self-government?

38. KING CHARLES I. AND THE VIRGINIANS.

1. How did King Charles view free government in Virginia?
2. What kept him from interfering much with Virginia?
3. What experience did Virginia have with one of his governors?
4. What was the result of Charles's fight with Parliament?

39. BERKELEY AND THE CAVALIERS.

1. Berkeley as a man.
2. Berkeley's views of popular government and education.
3. The coming of the Cavaliers.
4. The sort of life they lived.
5. The character they gave to the colony.

40. BERKELEY'S TYRANNY AS GOVERNOR.

1. The governor and the House of Burgesses.
2. The king's silly grant.
3. How Bacon became a rebel.
4. Fighting the Indians and the governor.
5. The suppression of the rebellion.
6. Berkeley's fate.

SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS AND DIRECTIONS.

1. What is a coat-of-arms? What is the use or object of a coat-of-arms? Who are entitled to have one? Describe the coat-of-arms of your State? Explain its meaning? Do private American citizens have coats-of-arms? If so, why?

2. Is the slave trade carried on anywhere to-day? If so, where? What is the attitude of civilized governments towards such trade?
3. Why should the overthrow of the Invincible Armada be described in a history of the United States?
4. Did English cruisers seize Spanish treasure-ships at any time they pleased, or only in time of war? During what years was England at war with Spain?
5. What was the early Portuguese route to the East Indies? How did the Spaniards try to get there? What way did the English try to find? What is the favorite route from Europe to-day? What new route may be established in the not distant future? Give reasons why one route should be preferred to another.
6. Mention some of the reasons that led English people to come to America in the early times.
7. How far west did the grants to the London and Plymouth companies extend? Who gave them these lands, and by what right? Were English sovereigns in the habit of giving lands outright, or did they exact something in return for them? Cite instances to show their practice. To whom were payments or other returns for such lands regarded as belonging, — to the sovereign personally or to the English people?
8. What was the first permanent colony within the limits of the present United States? The second? The third? The fourth? Is a first colony or settlement of any more real consequence than a second or a third? If so, show why. Mention some first things of any sort that are highly regarded.
9. Tell the story of Jamestown from the beginning to its destruction.
10. Fill out the second column of a table like the following, getting the data from pages 69, 70:

VIRGINIA UNDER A SYSTEM OF COMMUNISM.	UNDER DALE'S PLAN.
Land owned in common. Gains put into a common pool. Living charges borne by the community. Idleness encouraged. Misery increased.	Land? Gains? Living charges? Idleness? Misery?

Under what plan do people live nowadays? Under what plan did the Indians live, at least in part? Which is the better plan? Does either plan abolish misery?

11. Is it a good thing or bad that people have to work for a living? If there is work enough for people to do, and they will not do it, and consequently suffer, ought they to be pitied and helped? Is there work enough for all people? If there is work enough, how happens it that people are thrown out of work from time to time? What people ought to be relieved from the necessity of work? How do you like Dale's views about work? As a rule, were American colonists good workers? What exceptions have you noted? Does a new country call for more and harder work than an old one? Why?
12. What is an apprentice? What are indentures? (See Webster's International, or any standard dictionary.) Let two pupils illustrate indentures by signing some simple agreement in duplicate and then separating the parts after the original fashion so that each pupil may retain one. Why is the name "indentures" still used when the original reason for the name has ceased to exist? Think of other names in use, though the reasons for giving them no longer apply, as, for example, "coat-of-arms."
13. Mention some things for which white people are indebted to the American Indians; also some things for which these Indians are indebted to white people.
14. Compare the earlier settlers of Virginia with those that came over from 1650 to 1670. From what class did Jefferson descend? Washington? What is meant by the saying that "blood tells"? Does it tell in a sense that forbids one's rising from humble birth to a high place? Mention some American lives to support your view.
15. What was there so particularly cool in King Charles II.'s gift to Arlington and Culpeper? Was this gift any cooler than that of King James to the first Virginian colonists? What distinction, if any, exists between the two cases?
16. Was Berkeley right in calling Bacon a rebel? What constitutes a rebel? Who was nearer the right in Bacon's rebellion, Berkeley or Bacon? What was Berkeley's idea of the best government? What was Virginia's idea of the best government? Which idea fares the better under a system

of free schools? Who are the more likely to protest against bad government, the educated or the ignorant? With which class can tyrants more easily deal?

17. Let each pupil make out a list of names prominent in early Virginian history, with one or two conspicuous facts about each, following the form here given:

NAMES.	DATES.	ONE OR TWO CONSPICUOUS FACTS.

TOPICS FOR COLLATERAL READING.

Selected from John Esten Cooke's *Virginia, A History of the People*. Published by Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston, in the series of "American Commonwealths," edited by Horace E. Scudder.

The selections recommended here as well as elsewhere are purposely limited to a few matters that are lightly touched in the text. They are designed to show the richness, dramatic interest, and color that belong to events whose treatment in a school history is reduced to the baldest outlines, and to awaken a desire to read beyond the modest bounds suggested.

1. The rise and fall of Jamestown, 16-22, 274-283.
2. The ancient Virginians, 27-33.
3. The story of Pocahontas:
 - a. How she saved Captain Smith, 35, 36.
 - b. Her personal appearance, 36.
 - c. How she befriended the colonists, 37, 38.
 - d. Her marriage, 95-97.
 - e. Her life in England, 100-103.
4. Incidents in the life of Captain John Smith:
 - a. The terrible summer of 1607, 22-26.
 - b. His voyage toward the South Sea, 33, 34.
 - c. Not dazzled by fool's gold, 41, 42.
 - d. His voyage to the Chesapeake, 43, 44.
 - e. Another struggle for food, 49-55.
 - f. Overthrown at last, 63-67.
 - g. The kind of man he was, 68-76.

5. The wreck of the Sea Venture (the ship of Gates and Somers mentioned on page 68, whose wreck is believed to have suggested to Shakespeare his "Tempest"), 57-61.
6. The maids and the first slaves, 119-124.
7. The great rebellion of 1676:
 - a. The causes, 231-235.
 - b. The central figure, 238-240.
 - c. The first act in the drama, 241-243.
 - d. The arrest of Bacon, 244-246.
 - e. The forgiveness of Bacon, 247-249.
 - f. The flight of Bacon, 257, 258.
 - g. Bacon demands his commission, 259-262.
 - h. Was Bacon a traitor? 264-274.
 - i. The white aprons at Jamestown, 274-283.
 - j. The death of Bacon, 283-292.
 - k. Berkeley's cruel vengeance, 292-297.

CHAPTER VI.

NEW ENGLAND. 1602-1692.

41. Unsuccessful Attempts at Settlement. It will be remembered that, in 1606, a great double-headed company was incorporated in England for the purpose of making settlements in North America. We have seen how one branch of it, the London Company (sometimes also called the Virginia Company), succeeded in founding the colony of Virginia. The region assigned to the other branch, known as the Plymouth Company, as a field for its enterprise, was the portion of the coast lying between Long Island and Nova Scotia, or from about 41° to 45° north latitude. This region was for some time called North Virginia, and an attempt at founding a colony in it had already been made, in 1602, by Bartholomew Gosnold, who named Cape Cod and Martha's Vineyard, and built a house on the island of Cuttyhunk, but was driven back to England by want of food. Almost every year after 1602 one English captain or another visited some part of this North Virginia coast. We have seen that, in 1607, when the London Company sent its settlers to Jamestown, the Plymouth Company also sent out an expedition. The persons chiefly interested in it were Sir John Popham, chief justice of England, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, commander of the garrison at Plymouth. The colony which they tried to found is usually spoken of as the Popham colony. The settlers

North
Virginia
and the
Plymouth
Company.

built some huts near the mouth of the Kennebec River, and spent the winter of 1607-8 there, half starved and half frozen. Then they went home and said there was no use in Englishmen trying to live in such a cold country.

It will be remembered that Captain John Smith left the Jamestown colony in 1609. Five years afterward he came with two of the Plymouth Company's ships to North Virginia, explored the entire coast between Cape Cod and the mouth of the Penobscot, and made a map of it. He called the country New England, by which name it has ever since been known.

North
Virginia
becomes
New Eng-
land.

On this map he put the name Charles River, in honor of "Baby Charles," afterward King Charles I. Curiously enough, too, he put the name Plymouth just where the town was afterward founded; and of his other names, Cape Ann still remains. Other captains visited the coast after Smith, but it was not till late in the year 1620 that settlers came to stay. We have next to see what brought these settlers.

42. Puritans and Separatists. The Protestant reformation, set on foot in England in the reign of Henry VIII., was finally secured, in 1588, by the defeat of the Spanish Armada. In some respects it was a very incomplete reformation; it did not even try to secure freedom of thought or freedom of worship. At the present day, in the most civilized countries, a man may hold any opinions that may seem right to him with regard to matters of religion; he may proclaim his opinions by voice or in print; he may go to any church he likes or to no church at all; and he may or may not pay something toward the support of a minister, just as he pleases. In the days of Queen Elizabeth there was

no country in the world where such liberty was allowed. No such thing had ever been heard of since the world began, and people would have thought it a sure and quick way of bringing the world to an evil end. By the reformation in England, the sovereign was made the head of the church in that country instead of the pope, and there were some changes in doctrines and in ceremonies; but everybody was required to conform to the church as thus modified, and everybody was taxed to support it. Those who refused to conform were persecuted.

The Reformation in England.

Among the Protestant reformers there were a good many who were not at all satisfied with the doctrines and ritual of the English church as arranged in Queen Elizabeth's time. They wished to make further changes, simplifying the government of the church and dropping some of the ceremonies. This they considered purifying the church, and thus they came to be called Puritans. Most of the Puritans had no intention of leaving the Church of England; they wished to stay in it, and change it according to their own notions.

The Puritans.

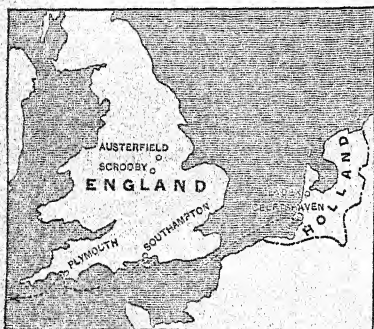
But, as early as 1567, a small number of ministers, despairing of accomplishing what they wanted, made up their minds to separate from the church and to hold religious services in private houses. In 1580, a clergyman named Robert Brown went about advocating this policy of separation, and those who adopted it were known as Separatists or Brownists. They did not believe in having bishops to rule over them. Some of them denied that the queen was the head of the church, and this was very dangerous talk; it was liable to be called treason. The Separatists were accused of sedition, many were thrown into jail, some were hanged, and Brown fled from the kingdom. This

The Separatists.

sort of thing went on from time to time for the next thirty years.

43. The Pilgrims in New England. At Scrooby, a hamlet in Nottinghamshire near the edge of Lincoln, there was a congregation of Separatists who listened to the eloquent preaching of John Robinson. In 1608, in order to escape persecution, they fled in a body to Holland, where there was much more religious liberty than in England or any other country in the world. They settled at Leyden, and were joined by other refugees from England until there

The Pilgrims in Holland.



HOMES OF THE PILGRIMS.

were more than a thousand of them. They were well treated in Holland, but they knew that if they stayed in that country their children and grandchildren would gradually lose their English speech and nationality and become Dutchmen. Accordingly, some of

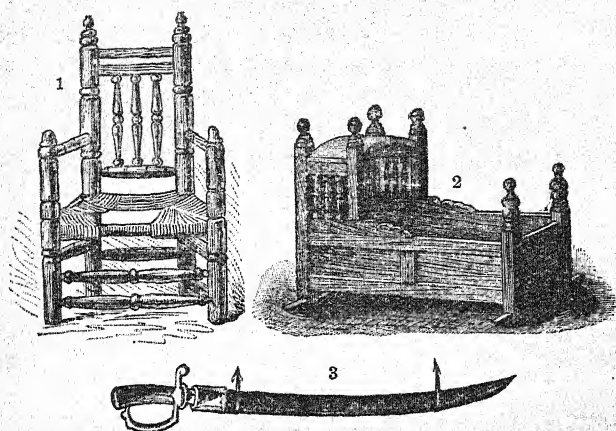
them decided that it would be better to go, like "pilgrims," to America, and found a little state there for themselves. They made up their minds to try the coast of New Jersey, and got permission from the London Company to settle there. Some English merchants furnished them with money on pretty hard terms, because it was a risky enterprise. King James refused to grant them a charter, but made no objection to their going. So in July, 1620, a little band of Pilgrims sailed in the ship *Speedwell* from Delftshaven in Holland to

Southampton in England, where the Mayflower was waiting for them with friends. Both ships started to cross the ocean, but the Speedwell leaked so badly that they were twice obliged to put back. At length, on the 16th of September, the Mayflower started alone from Plymouth in Devonshire, with just one hundred passengers, men, women, and children. The weather was bad, and they did not come to anchor on the American coast till the 21st of November.

Voyage of
the May-
flower.

They had gone so far out of their way that instead of New Jersey it was the northern shore of Cape Cod where they found themselves. But they concluded to stay there and get permission from the Plymouth Company, which would be easy to do because that corporation was anxious to have settlers. So the Pilgrims held a meeting in the cabin of the Mayflower, and drew up a compact in which they announced their intention of making such laws as should be needed for the general good of the colony, and all agreed to be bound by such laws and to obey them. They chose John Carver to be their governor. After spending some time in exploring the coast, they landed at length, on the 21st of December, on the spot marked on Smith's map as Plymouth. There they put up a large rude cabin to shelter them from the winter's cold, but their sufferings were intense. More than half their number, including Governor Carver, died that winter, but instead of going home in the spring, the survivors set about building houses for themselves. William Bradford was chosen governor, and from that time until his death, in 1657, he was reelected every year except five; and those five were years when he declined to serve. The other chief leaders of the Pilgrims were William Brewster and the stout soldier, Miles Standish.

Founding
of the
Plymouth
colony.
1620.

PILGRIM RELICS.¹

In the spring of 1621, they made a treaty with Massasoit, chief of the Wampanoag Indians, who lived between Cape Cod and Narragansett Bay, and this treaty was not broken till 1675. Over to the west of Narragansett Bay dwelt the powerful tribe of Narragansetts, and their chief, Canonicus. He sent a messenger to Governor Bradford with a bundle of arrows tied up with a snake's skin. The messenger threw this bundle into the little Plymouth village, and ran away as fast as his legs could carry him. Bradford understood this to be a declaration of war, so he stuffed the snake's skin full of powder and bullets, and sent it back to Canonicus. The Indians then knew just enough about firearms to be superstitious about them; they believed that white men wielded thunder and lightning, and, on the whole, Canonicus

¹ From Winsor's *America*, iii. 279. 1 belonged to Governor Carver; 2 belonged to Dr. Samuel Fuller, the physician of the Pilgrims; 3 belonged to Miles Standish.

concluded that he had better keep quiet and leave the Plymouth people alone.

By dint of hard work, the Pilgrims paid up the merchants who had advanced money for their enterprise. At first their colony grew very slowly. In 1630, it contained only three hundred persons; but after that time they began to profit by the great emigration set on foot by the Company of Massachusetts Bay, and their numbers increased much faster. In 1640, the population of the Plymouth colony had reached nearly 3,000; by 1670, it had reached 8,000, distributed among twenty towns. Growth of the colony.

44. The Puritans in New England. When Charles I. came to the throne, in 1625, the Puritan party in England was very powerful, and comprised many men of wealth, culture, and high social position. King Charles's reign began very badly; as we have already observed, he was determined to get along without parliaments, if possible, and to rule just as he pleased. In March, 1629, he turned his parliament out of doors, and did not summon another one until 1640. Meanwhile, some small bodies of Puritans, encouraged by the example of the Pilgrims, had begun to make settlements upon the shores of Massachusetts Bay. In 1628, John Endicott, of Dorchester, took command of a place which the Indians called Naumkeag; he called the little colony which was beginning to be planted there by the Bible name of Salem, or "Peace." A number of leading Puritans in England bought from the Plymouth Company a large tract of land including all the country between the Charles and Merrimack rivers, and stretching inland indefinitely. Then they got a charter from Charles I. incorporating them as the Company of Massachusetts Bay. The Company of Massachusetts Bay. The

affairs of this company were to be managed by a governor, deputy governor, and council of eighteen assistants, to be elected annually by the members of the company. They could make any laws they liked for their settlers, only these laws must not conflict with the laws of England. The place where the company was to hold its meetings was not mentioned in the charter. Accordingly, in 1629, having become



JOHN WINTHROP.¹

thoroughly disgusted and somewhat alarmed at the king's conduct, the company decided to take its charter over to New England and found a self-governing community there. No attempt was made to interfere with them, and it may be supposed that the king was not

¹ From a painting in the State House at Boston, attributed to Vandyke.

unwilling to have a large body of eminent Puritans leave England and get out of his way.

In 1630, John Winthrop, of Groton, came over to Salem with eleven ships, bringing nearly 1,000 persons, with quite a stock of horses and cattle. John Winthrop, one of the wisest and noblest men of his time, was the real founder of the Massachusetts Bay colony, and its first governor. During the year 1630, settlements were made at Dorchester,

Founding
of the Mas-
sachusetts
colony.
1630.

Roxbury, Charlestown, and Watertown. Governor Winthrop moved his headquarters first to Charlestown, and then to a small hilly peninsula whereon the highest hill was crowned with three summits. The Indians called the place Shawmut, but the English called it Trimountain, or Tremont, in allusion to its triple hill; the name was soon changed to Boston, after the venerable town of that name in Lincolnshire, from which some of the leading settlers had come.

The Puritan followers of Winthrop had not been Separatists, like the settlers of Plymouth, but soon after landing in America they separated themselves completely from the Church of England. The Episcopal service was much simplified, and the greater part of it discarded. There were no bishops or dioceses in Massachusetts, but just simply parishes, each with its minister elected by the parishioners. It soon appeared that no kind of Episcopal church would be allowed in the colony, for two gentlemen at Salem, who favored the Episcopal form of worship, were put on board ship and sent back to England.

Episcopal
service
abolished.

When the first Massachusetts towns were settled, each had but one church; there was one for Watertown, one for Dorchester, and so on. Thus, the inhabitants of the

town and the congregation of the church were the same persons. When they met for church business, as to choose a minister or to admit new members, it was a parish meeting; when they met for civil business, as to appropriate money for making a road or building a schoolhouse, it was a town meeting. In either case, it was a meeting of free people who governed themselves. In England the small patch of country which furnished members to a single church was usually called a parish, but it was still often called by the much older name of township. When settlers came over from England to Massachusetts, they usually came in congregations led

Parishes
and town-
ships.

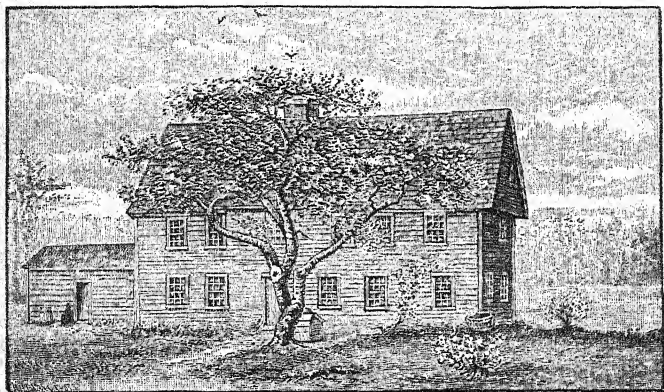
by their ministers, and settled together in parishes, or townships. In this way, the soil of Massachusetts gradually became covered with little self-governing republics, called townships, or towns, each about six or eight miles square, with a village street for its centre, surrounded by spreading farms. The church in the village was used not only for religious services, but also for transacting public business, and was always called the meeting-house. At a later time it was used only as a church, and another building, called the townhouse or townhall, was used for public business. The meeting-house and townhouse usually stood beside a large open grazing-ground, or common, and in early times this village centre was apt to be placed upon high ground in order that the

The New
England
village.

approach of hostile parties of red men might more easily be detected. On or near the common, there was, in many villages, a fort, or blockhouse, built of heavy timbers, where the people could take refuge in case of sudden attack. Some of the best dwellings in the village, though built of wood, were apt to be made so strong for defensive purposes

that they have survived down to the present day, sometimes in very good condition.

By the year 1634, nearly 4,000 settlers had arrived, and about twenty villages, or parishes, with an average population of two hundred each, had been founded.



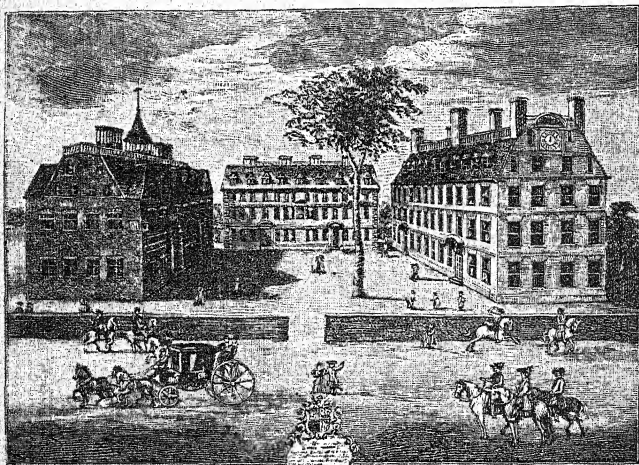
MINOT HOUSE IN DORCHESTER, MASS. (1633-1640).¹

The building of houses, fences, roads, and bridges was going on briskly. Lumber, furs, and salted fish were sent to England in exchange for clothes, tools, and books, or whatever articles were needed; thousands of cattle were already grazing in the pastures, while pigs rooted in the clearings, and helped to make ready the land for the plowman. Wheat and rye and other European grains were soon made to grow here, but the settlers were greatly benefited by the native maize, or Indian corn, which they found cultivated by the red men.

Amid the hurry of pioneer work the interests of education were not forgotten. In order to keep their government safely under their own control, the settlers

¹ One of the oldest wooden houses in North America.

allowed nobody but members of their own Congregational churches to vote at elections or to hold office. In order to fit growing children for membership in the Congregational churches, it was necessary that they should know how to read the Bible, and common schools were founded for this purpose. So many of the leading settlers were university graduates, mostly from Cambridge, that a college seemed necessary for the colony. In 1636, it was voted to establish such a



*A Prospect of the Colleges in Cambridge in New England.*¹

college at Newtown, three miles west of Boston. Two years later, a young clergyman, John Harvard, dying childless, bequeathed his books and half his estate to the new college, which was forthwith called by his name; while in honor of the mother

Founding
of Harvard
College.
1636.

¹ From the oldest known print of Harvard College, engraved in 1726; and representing the college as it appeared when ninety years old. It is now in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The building on the right, Massachusetts Hall, is still in use.

university, the name of the town was changed to Cambridge.

45. Enemies of the New Colony. In all these things the settlers of Massachusetts were going ahead and doing just as they pleased. King Charles did not like to see such liberties taken with affairs of church and state. Besides, the new colony had some bitter enemies in England, among others, Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain John Mason, who had intended to colonize the New England coast with settlers of their own and for their own benefit. In 1636, the king entertained a scheme for annulling the Massachusetts charter and dividing up the land of the settlers among these hostile and rival parties. When the people in Massachusetts heard of this plot they prepared to defend themselves. Forts were built in and about Boston harbor, with cannon to sink intruding vessels, every village put its militia band in training, and a beacon was set up on the highest summit of the triple hill to alarm the neighboring country in case of need. Ever since then the hill has been known as Beacon Hill. But the danger was postponed by events in the Old World. War broke out in Scotland, and gave King Charles so much to think about that he forgot Massachusetts. But in later years, fresh trouble arose with Mason and Gorges and their friends. Some of Mason's people made settlements near the mouth of the Piscataqua River, and this was the beginning of what was afterward called New Hampshire. A few settlements along the coast of Maine were made by Gorges.

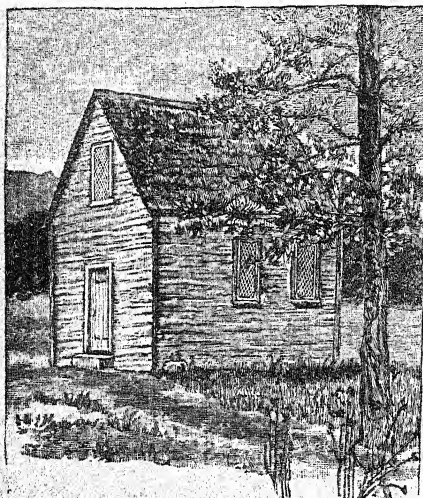
Charles I.
displeased
with Mas-
sachusetts.

Mason and
Gorges.

46. Dissatisfied Settlers. Among the settlers who came to Massachusetts, there were some who did not like the way in which things were managed there. Of

these dissenters the most famous was Roger Williams, who became pastor of a church at Salem, in 1633. He was one of the noblest men of his time. Some of his opinions were such as very few people then held. He advocated the entire separation of church from state, declared that no man should be obliged to pay taxes to support a minister, that magistrates had no right to punish Sabbath-breaking or blasphemy, and that a man is re-

Founding
of Rhode
Island,
1636-43;
Roger Wil-
liams.



ROGER WILLIAMS'S CHURCH IN SALEM (1633).¹

sponsible for his opinions only to God and his own conscience. He also declared that the king of England could not rightfully give land in America to English settlers, because this land belonged not to the king of England but to the Indians. The magistrates and clergy of Massachusetts could not endure such opinions, and Williams was ordered to return to England. But he escaped into the wilderness, and made his way to the Narragansett Indians, whose language he learned to speak fluently. He entered into very friendly relations with that tribe of red men, and procured from them a tract of land

¹ This building is still standing, just back of the Essex Institute.

upon which, in 1636, he began to build a town. Thus far had God's mercy provided for him; so he called the town Providence. He also named his next born son Providence, and his next daughter Mercy.

In that same year, 1636, in which the town of Providence was founded, there was a violent theological dispute in Boston, occasioned by the teachings of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, a very bright and well-educated lady from Lincolnshire. She held peculiar opinions about "grace" and "good works,"

Anne
Hutchinson.

and such a bitter controversy arose on these matters as to endanger the existence of the colony. Some men refused to serve in the militia because they did not agree with what the minister said in his Sunday sermon. So Mrs. Hutchinson was banished from Massachusetts. With some of her friends and adherents she bought the island of Aquidneck from the Indians for forty fathoms of white wampum, twenty hoes, and ten coats. The island soon came to be called Rhode Island, and at the upper end of it Mrs. Hutchinson and her friends founded the town of Portsmouth. Soon afterward, William Coddington and others built the town of Newport at the southern end of the island. In 1643, a man of queer ideas, named Samuel Gorton, who had been driven from one settlement after another, founded the town of Warwick. After a while these various settlements coalesced under one government, forming a colony known as Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.

Coddington;
Gorton.

All Mrs. Hutchinson's friends who were driven from Boston did not go with her to Narragansett Bay; some went in the opposite direction and settled Exeter, not far from the towns of Dover and Portsmouth, which Mason's men had already

The Pis-
cataqua
towns.

founded. Mason died about this time, leaving no one to push his claims vigorously, and people from Massachusetts founded the town of Hampton. In 1641, these four towns were added by their own consent to the domain of Massachusetts, and so the matter stood until 1679, when King Charles II. marked them off, with the wild country behind them, as the royal province of New Hampshire.

47. The Beginnings of Connecticut. In the course of the year 1636, the beginnings of Connecticut were made. The Dutch, as we shall presently see, had already founded the colony which afterward became New York, and they laid claim to all the territory as far east as the Connecticut River. In the summer of 1633, the Dutch built a fort about where Hartford now stands,

Dutch and
Pilgrims on
the Con-
necticut
River.

and in that same summer, some Pilgrims from Plymouth went up the river in a small ship, with the frame of a wooden house on board.

As they approached the fort at Hartford the Dutch told them to turn back or they would be fired upon; but the Pilgrims kept on their way and the Dutch concluded not to fire. The Pilgrims set up their house on the site of Windsor and began trading with the Indians.

The fur trade was the chief object for which English and Dutch wished to possess this region. Each wished to monopolize such a gainful trade. The younger John Winthrop, son of the founder of Boston, and one of the most accomplished men of his time, saw the im-

The Say-
Brooke
fort.

portance of the situation. In 1635, he established at the mouth of the river a fort which shut out the Dutch and made it impossible for them to keep hold of their position at Hartford. Two of Winthrop's principal patrons were the well-known

Puritan noblemen, Lord Say and Lord Brooke, and after them the fort was called Say-Brooke.

In the course of this year, twenty vessels came from England to Massachusetts, bringing 3,000 settlers. There was plenty of room for all near Boston if they had been able to agree on questions of government. But many people thought the clergy were getting too much power, and disapproved the policy of allowing none but church members to vote. These feelings were especially strong in Dorchester, Watertown, and Cambridge (then still called Newtown). The pastor at Cambridge was Thomas Hooker, one of the most learned and eloquent of the Puritan lead-
Thomas
Hooker.

ers. He believed that the whole people ought to be governed by the whole people, or as nearly so as possible. In other words, he believed that all the people ought to take part, directly or indirectly, in the work of governing; that those who do not themselves hold office at least ought to vote. On the other hand, Governor Winthrop believed that a large part of the people are always unfit to take part in governing. He believed that the whole people ought to be governed by a part of the people, supposed to consist of the best and wisest persons. Thus we see that Winthrop's idea of government was aristocratic, while Hooker's idea was democratic. One hundred and sixty years later (1790-1800), there was the same kind of opposition between two other great men, Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson. The question as to just what is the best kind of government is a difficult question, and probably the last word on the subject has not yet been said.
Aristoc-
racy vs.
democracy.

We do not hear of any bitter quarrel between the people who thought like Winthrop and those who

thought like Hooker. What happened was that, in 1636, a great part of the congregations of Cambridge, Watertown, and Dorchester journeyed to the Connecticut valley, of which they had heard that it contained much fine meadow land well fitted for farming. The Cambridge people, led by Hooker, founded Hartford, the Dorchester people settled Windsor, and those from Watertown settled Wethersfield. About the same time, William Pynchon led a party from Roxbury to the meadows above Windsor, and founded the town of Springfield.

Settlement
of Connec-
ticut.
1636.

All these four river towns at first allowed themselves to remain part of Massachusetts, and Springfield has always remained so. But early in 1639, the people of the other three towns met at Hartford and agreed to govern themselves according to a written constitution drawn up by Hooker and others. By this constitution the three towns, Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield, were united into a republic, which came to be called Connecticut. This seems to have been the first time in the history of the world that a state was created by a written constitution. In the colony thus founded there was no restriction of suffrage to church members.

The Con-
necticut
colony
founded by
a written
constitu-
tion.
1639.

48. The Overthrow of the Pequots. Before the memorable meeting at Hartford, the settlers had their first taste of Indian war. All the tribes in New England belonged to the Algonquin family. Among them we have already had occasion to mention the Wampanoags in the Plymouth colony, and the Narragansetts on the bay of that name. To the west of the latter, in the valley of the river since called Thames, dwelt the Pequots; west and northwest of these, between the Thames and Con-

Indian
tribes in
southern
New Eng-
land.

necticut valleys, lived the Mohegans. The Pequots bullied the neighboring tribes with impunity, and were considered invincible.

Several murders of white men, for which the Pequots were at least partly to blame, determined the government at Boston to call that tribe to account. In the summer of 1636, John Endicott attacked them and sought to bring them to terms, but this attack, in which a few were killed, only served to enrage them. They tried to induce the Narragansetts to join them in warfare upon the English, but the influence of Roger Williams over the Narragansett tribe prevented this, and the Pequots went into the war without allies. The new settlements in the Connecticut valley were dangerously exposed, and there the savages began their bloody work. They made no general attack, but skulked about near the settlement, waylaid a few persons at a time, and put them to death, often with frightful tortures. Some of the victims were burned alive, others were hacked to pieces with stone knives.

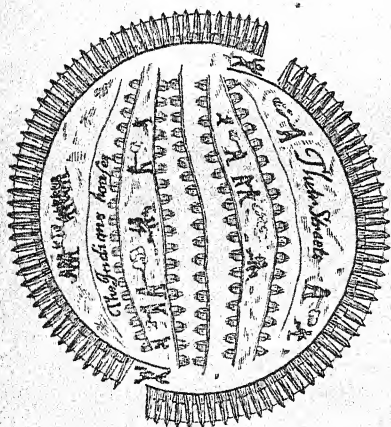
Troubles
with the
Pequots.

In the spring of 1637, the English made up their minds to put an end to this sort of thing. The Connecticut towns sent out ninety men under Captain Mason, and these were joined by twenty from Massachusetts, commanded by Captain Underhill, as well as by seventy Mohegans who were glad of such a chance for vengeance upon their old tyrants, the Pequots. The greater part of the Pequot warriors were collected in a circular stockaded fort by the Mystic River, near the site of Stonington.

The Pe-
quots anni-
hilated.
1637.

The Indians made a mistake in cooping themselves up in a fort; they would have been much safer if scattered about in the woods. The little English party surprised the fort an hour before dawn. A barking dog aroused

the sleeping Indians, and the cry "Owanux, owanux!" (Englishmen!) was heard, but it was too late. Mason already held one of the entrances, and Underhill the other; firebrands were hurled among the wigwams, and in a few moments the whole inclosure was in a light blaze. The few Indians who escaped the flames were at once shot down. Of more than four hundred in the fort, only five got away; all the rest were killed. This terrible blow completely crushed the spirit of the Pequots. The remainder of the tribe started to fly to the



PLAN OF PEQUOT FORT.¹

Hudson River, but they were pursued by the white men and were nearly all slain. The last of their sachems was captured at a point on the shore of what is now Guilford; his head was cut off and set upon a pole, and the place has ever since been called Sachem's Head. Thus the Pequot tribe, so

long deemed invincible, was wiped out of existence, and all the other tribes were so terrified that not an Indian dared to molest a white man again for nearly forty years.

49. The New Haven Colony. While this war was going on, a large company, including many wealthy persons, arrived from England, under the lead of their principal pastor, John Davenport. They wished to

¹ From Palfrey's *New England*, i. 466. A reduced facsimile from the original drawing by Captain Underhill.

form a little state by themselves, with no law except that which could be found in the Bible; for example, they would not have trial by jury because the laws of Moses did not have it. The Pequot war drew the attention of the English to the country along the northern shore of Long Island Sound. So these new-comers, in the spring of 1638, sailed to a pleasant harbor, where they founded the town of New Haven. The next year Milford and Guilford were founded, and, in 1641, Stamford; and these little towns joined themselves together in a kind of federal union known as the New Haven colony. This was the last separate colony founded in New England. In 1644, the little settlement at Saybrook was joined to Connecticut.

Founding
of the New
Haven col-
ony.
1638-41.

50. The Story in Brief of the Five New England Colonies. Taken all together, the colonization of New England was a rather complicated affair; and now that we have told the story, it is worth while to sum up the situation briefly for the sake of greater clearness. First, then, there were, by the middle of the seventeenth century, five New England colonies. By far the most populous was Massachusetts, or, as it was called for a hundred and fifty years, Massachusetts Bay. In 1650, this population was mostly confined to Boston and about thirty other villages in the three neighboring counties. Everywhere else was the wild forest. Northeast of Massachusetts was the little group of New Hampshire villages already mentioned, and the scattered settlements on the Maine coast, but as yet these had not grown into distinct colonies so as to be ranked in our group of five. South of Massachusetts was Plymouth, the second of our five colonies, but first in age and often called the Old Colony; it extended southward as far as

Yarmouth and westward as far as Taunton. The third colony, called Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, has already been described. The fourth colony was Connecticut. The fifth was New Haven.

In 1643, the rebellion against Charles I. had broken out, and the great emigration of Puritans to New England came to an end. Some people even went back to England to help their brethren against the tyrannical king. By this time there were about 26,000 people in New England, of whom more than 5,000 had been born there; all the rest came from England. Away from the coast all the people were farmers; on the coast all were farmers and fishermen. As a rule, every man owned the house in which he lived and the land which he tilled. Already the houses were well built and comfortable, and the condition of the people was very far above that of European peasants. The ministers were mostly men of great learning and high character. Education was general. The first printing press north of Mexico was set up in Cambridge, in 1639, and the first volume printed on it was the celebrated Bay Psalm Book, in 1640.

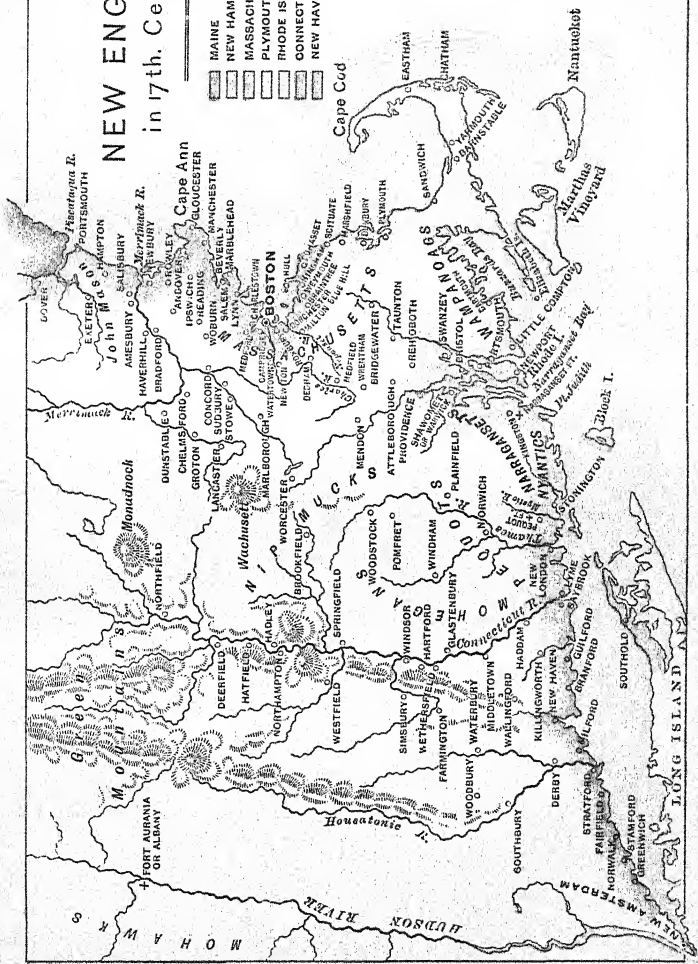
As for the governments of these five colonies, we have already seen that the Company of Massachusetts Bay was chartered by Charles I., and that after it had come to New England the king repented of what he had done and meant to take away the charter, but was prevented by troubles at home. The governments of the other four colonies were made by the people without consulting the king in any way. In the written constitution of Connecticut, there was no mention of a king or any other authority whatever except that of the people themselves. In all the five colonies there was a legislature, usually called

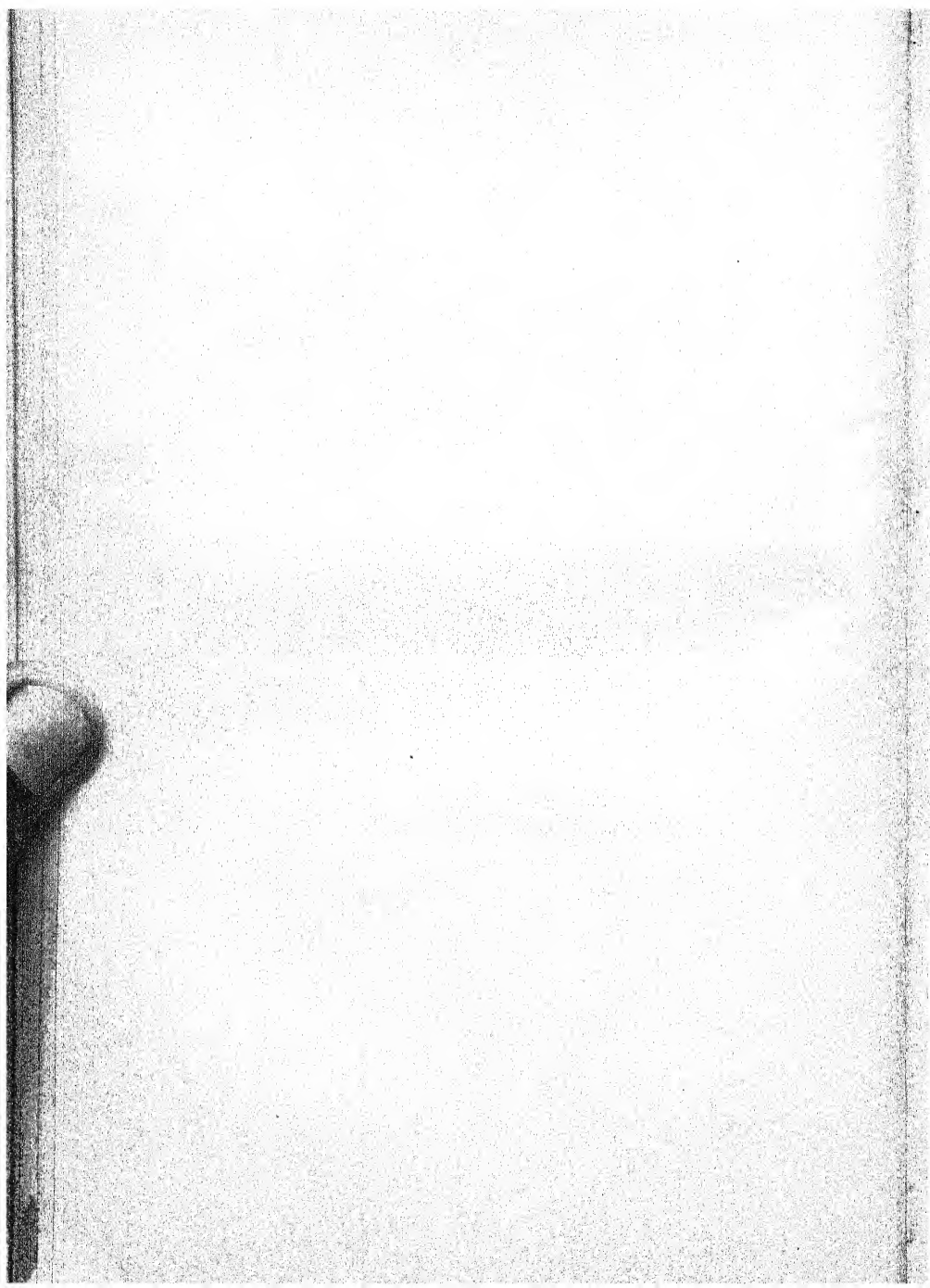
Condition
of these col-
onies in
1643.

Popular
govern-
ment
sprang up
in all of
them.

NEW ENGLAND in 17th. Century.

- MAINE
- NEW HAMPSHIRE
- MASSACHUSETTS
- PLYMOUTH
- RHODE ISLAND
- CONNECTICUT
- NEW HAVEN





the General Court, consisting of representatives from each of the towns. The people also elected their governors; and we have seen how they managed their church affairs without the slightest regard to the opinions or wishes of the king and the bishops in England.

51. The New England Confederation. In 1643, the four colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven formed a confederation for purposes of defense in case of attacks or depredations by the Dutch on the Hudson River, or the Indians. The name of the confederation was "The United Colonies of New England." Its affairs were managed by a board of eight commissioners, two from each colony. This board undertook to call out troops in case of need, and to settle disputes between the colonies. It did not interfere in any way with the independent internal government of each colony. Rhode Island was not admitted into the confederation, because there was so much ill feeling toward the followers of Roger Williams and Mrs. Hutchinson. The people of New England did not ask anybody's permission when they formed this confederation, but for the present there was nobody in England liable to disturb them. The party which overthrew the king, and beheaded him, in 1649, was in sympathy with the men of New England. The mighty Oliver Cromwell was their friend. So there were twenty years of remarkable peace and prosperity, until after Charles II. had been restored to his father's throne.

The New
England
Confeder-
acy.
1643-84.

52. The Persecution of the Quakers. At the time when that event occurred, in 1660, there was fierce excitement in Boston. We have seen how the magistrates and clergy in that little town used to drive away such men as Roger Williams and others whose opinions they

disapproved. But at length some people who held very unpopular opinions came to Boston, and would not go away when they were told to go. These resolute people were Quakers. Belonging to one of the noblest and purest of Christian sects, they were, nevertheless, regarded with horror by the Puritans of New England, and all the colonies except Rhode Island made laws against them. But as the Quakers came over from England not so much to escape persecution as to preach their doctrines, they were not satisfied with staying in Rhode Island where nobody molested them. They insisted on coming into Massachusetts. Those who came were banished under penalty of death; but they returned, and at length, in 1659, two were hanged on a gallows erected on Boston Common. The next year, Mrs. Dyer, a Quaker lady of good family, was hanged at the same place, and, in 1661, there was one more victim. This excess of severity defeated its own purpose. A majority of the people in Boston disapproved of the executions, and at the last one the magistrates feared an insurrection and a rescue. The tragedy ended, in 1661, with the victory of the Quakers, when one of their number, the brave Wenlock Christison, strode into the court room and with uplifted finger threatened the judges. "I am come here to warn you," said he, "that ye shed no more innocent blood." He was seized and condemned to the gallows, but the magistrates did not dare to execute the sentence. After that time Quakers were now and then imprisoned or whipped, but they had proved that if they chose they could come to Boston and stay there.

This putting Quakers to death was a great assumption of authority on the part of the Massachusetts government. Charles II. denied that the government had

any such authority, and, in 1661, he issued an order in council forbidding the General Court of Massachusetts to inflict bodily punishment upon Quakers, and directing it to send them to England for trial. This order was never obeyed in Massachusetts.

Action of
Charles II.
regarding
Quakers.

53. The King's Quarrel with New England. There were, however, plenty of malcontents in England who had been sent back there because the Puritans of the New World did not like their society. Such persons poured their grievances into the royal ear. They said that the people of New England were all rebels at heart; and it was not strange if King Charles was inclined to believe such stories. The colony of New Haven had especially aroused his anger. Two of the regicide judges, who had sat in the court that condemned his father, had escaped to New England, and officers were sent across the ocean in pursuit of them. If the judges had been caught and taken to London, they would have been disemboweled and quartered, and their severed heads would have been set up on Temple Bar. These two judges, whose names were Goffe and Whalley, had been generals in Cromwell's army. They found refuge in New Haven, where the bold minister, Davenport, openly aided and comforted them. They were never caught, but lived the rest of their days in New England. Some of their escapes were romantic enough; it is said that once, when hotly chased, they came to a small river, and crawled under the wooden bridge, where they lurked while the pursuers galloped overhead and away on a fruitless search.

The regi-
cides.

King Charles contrived to punish New Haven in such a way as to snub and irritate Massachusetts. The

latter colony agreed with New Haven in allowing none but members of the Congregational church to vote or hold office, and both colonies disapproved of Connecticut's more liberal policy. So the king, in 1662, sup-

New Ha-
ven an-
nexed to
Connecti-
cut.
1662.

pressed the New Haven colony and annexed it to Connecticut. At the same time, he granted to Connecticut a very liberal charter which in substance confirmed the constitution of 1639. Rhode Island also received a similar charter. As for Massachusetts, she was ordered, among other things, to permit the Episcopal form of worship, but she paid no heed to the order. For a moment she seemed in danger of losing her charter, but presently affairs in England occupied the king's attention so that Massachusetts was for several years more allowed to go on in her own way.

54. King Philip's War. During this interval, New England was afflicted by a terrible Indian war. As a rule, the settlers treated the natives with justice and kindness. The learned John Eliot translated the Bible into their language, and converted many by his preaching. In 1674, there were 4,000 Indians in New England who professed to be Christians. Schools were

Relations
with the In-
dians.

introduced among them, and many learned to read and write. The English always paid for the land which they occupied. But the Indians hated them none the less for that. They felt that the white men were there as masters; they dreaded them, and keenly watched for a chance to destroy them. Besides, the English could not wholly keep clear of the quarrels between the different tribes. The Mohegans were always their friends, but this very fact made the Narragansetts their enemies. In 1643, a war between these two tribes resulted in the capture of the famous Narragansett sachem, Miantonomo, who was put to

death by the Mohegans with the full consent and approval of the English. This made the Narragansetts thirst for revenge, but they remembered the fate of the Pequots, and it was long before they dared to move.

By 1670, the red men had acquired a good many firearms and become expert in the use of them, so that they were not so unequal a match for the white men as formerly. About this time, there seems to have been some kind of an understanding on the part of three tribes that at the first opportunity the English should be attacked. The three tribes were the Narragansetts, the Wampanoags, and the Nipmucks who roamed in the highlands of what is now Worcester County. The

first attack was made by the Wampanoags under their sachem called Philip, a son of Massasoit; and the war has always been known as King Philip's War, although the Narragansett Canonchet, son of Miantonomo, played a more extensive part in it. In June, 1675, the Wampanoags burned the

King Philip's War.
1675-78.

*Philip alias Miantonomo
his P mark*

KING PHILIP'S MARK.¹

village of Swanzy and three other villages in the Plymouth colony, and murdered many of the inhabitants. Some of the victims were burned alive. The Wampanoags were soon put down, but Philip escaped to the Nipmucks, and these savages carried on the war for a year, burning and slaughtering all the way from the Connecticut River, which was then the western frontier, even to within a dozen miles of Boston. In December, the Narragansetts were about to begin, but the English detected their schemes and were before

¹ From *The Memorial History of Boston*, i. 325.

hand. Canonchet had collected more than 3,000 of his Indians in a palisaded fortress in the middle of a great swamp in South Kingston, Rhode Island. A force of 1,000 white men took this place by storm and destroyed it, slaughtering more than 1,000 Indians. By midsummer of 1676, the three tribes concerned in the war were annihilated. Nearly all the warriors, includ-

Extermination of the Indian tribes.

ing Canonchet and Philip, were killed; those who were left were sold as slaves in the West Indies and elsewhere. The Tarratines, along the Maine coast, took up the fight and carried it on till 1678, when they too were finally suppressed. Scarcely any Indians were left within the New England colonies except the friendly Mohegans. But this was not accomplished until terrible havoc had been wrought among the English, chiefly in Massachusetts and Plymouth. Of ninety towns, twelve had been utterly destroyed, while more than forty others had been the scene of fire and massacre. More than a thousand men had been killed, and a great many women and children. There was a great war debt, which it took several years to pay.

55. The Viceroyalty of Andros. Soon after the close of King Philip's War, King Charles found his hands free to take up his old quarrel with Massachusetts. Part of this quarrel related to the claims made by that colony to rule over the eastern settlements made by Mason and Gorges. The king's judges decided these claims against Massachusetts. Then Massachusetts bought Maine of the heirs of Gorges, paying £1,200 for it. This made the king very angry; he canceled the transaction and told Massachusetts to keep her hands off from Maine. As for the Mason territory, the king now (1679) made it a royal province, and called it New Hampshire.

These things created much ill feeling in Massachusetts, but still more serious trouble was caused by navigation laws passed by Parliament interfering with the trade of the colonies. These laws were generally disobeyed, and the king thought it high time to enforce them. But the most grievous offense of Massachusetts, in his eyes, was the refusal to allow Episcopal churches in the colony, or to let anybody but Congregationalist church members vote or hold office.

SIR EDMUND ANDROS.¹

Now by this time a majority of the grown men in the colony were not church members, and they did not like to be governed by a minority. So there grew up a small party opposed to the clergy and inclined to side with the king. This was the beginning of the Tory party in New England, and Joseph Dudley may be considered its founder. The quarrel went on, growing more and more bitter, until 1684, when the king succeeded in annulling the charter of Massachusetts. This destroyed the government which had begun in 1629. Before Charles II. had completed his arrangements for a new government he died, early in 1685, and was succeeded by his

The annulling of the charter of Massachusetts.

¹ After an engraving in *Andros Tracts*, vol. i., made from a photograph of a portrait painted from life.

brother, James II. The new king sent over one of his favorite officers, Sir Edmund Andros, to govern all New England as a viceroy. As we shall see hereafter, the French in Canada were getting to be dangerous neighbors, and the British government wished to unite all its northern colonies under a single ruler, so that it might

James II.
sends Andros to govern the northern colonies.
1685-89.

be easier to put forth all their military force quickly. So



THE DOMINION OF NEW ENGLAND UNDER SIR EDMUND ANDROS, 1688.

not only all of New England, but New York and New Jersey, likewise, were put under the absolute rule of Andros. He was directed to seize the charters of Connecticut and Rhode Island, but failed to do so. When he visited Hartford, in 1687, he could not find the charter; it is said that Captain Wadsworth had hidden it in the

hollow trunk of a mighty oak-tree, which was always afterward called the Charter Oak.

Andros had his headquarters in Boston. He began building an Episcopal church there, still known as the King's Chapel; and until it was done he had Episcopal service performed in the Old South Meeting-house.

The people did not like this, but they had to submit to things which they liked still less. Their legislature was abolished, arbitrary taxes were levied, men were arrested and sent to jail, and estates and goods were confiscated without due process of law. Dudley was appointed censor of the press, and nothing was allowed to be printed without his permission. Thus, as there was no security for person or property, and no way for people to express their opinions, the government of Andros was a despotism. It was like the government which his royal master was trying to set up in England and Scotland. If it had continued, there would certainly have been a rebellion in New England. But James II. had reigned less than four years when he was dethroned, and fled from the kingdom, and his nephew, William III., Prince of Orange, was made king of England. No sooner was the news of this known in Boston than the people rose in insurrection, April 18 and 19, 1689; Andros and Dudley were thrown into prison, and the old government was restored. This revolution extended through New England and into New York.

Tyranny of Andros.

Insurrection in Boston and overthrow of Andros.

56. King William's Arrangements in 1692. But King William, when he arranged things in 1692, only partly sanctioned these proceedings. He let Connecticut and Rhode Island keep their old and beloved charters. But as for Plymouth, he annexed it to Massachusetts, of which it has ever since remained a part. He kept New Hampshire a separate province, but he annexed to Massachusetts not only Maine but even Nova Scotia, which had lately been taken from the French. He allowed Massachusetts to keep her free government, with her town meetings and elected legislature; but henceforth Epis-

New arrangements under William III. 1692.

copalians and others beside Congregationalists were to vote, and to hold office, and to have their own churches. Many people approved of these liberal provisions, and in course of time all would have done so. But there was one thing in this new charter of 1692 that people did not approve. Henceforth, the governor was not to be elected by the people, but appointed by the crown. The small Tory party liked this well enough, but nobody else did. The royal governors, as they were called, were almost always unpopular, even when they were able and good men. Soon after 1692, they entered upon a series of quarrels with the legislature, and these quarrels continued until the bloodshed on Lexington green, in 1775, ushered in the War for Independence.

The events just related tended to bring Massachusetts and Virginia into sympathy with each other. In contending against their royal governors, the people in each of these colonies had a sore grievance to remember. Virginia did not forget the tyranny of Berkeley, nor did Massachusetts forget the tyranny of Andros.

TOPICS AND QUESTIONS.

41. UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPTS AT SETTLEMENT.

1. The country of North Virginia.
2. Gosnold's colony.
3. The Popham colony.
4. Captain John Smith and North Virginia.
5. Smith's map of the country.

42. PURITANS AND SEPARATISTS.

1. What religious liberty exists to-day?
2. Tell about such liberty in Queen Elizabeth's time.
3. What changes were brought about in England by the reformation?
4. What requirements of people were still made there?
5. What did the Puritans wish to accomplish?
6. Why were the Separatists so called?
7. Why were they persecuted?

43. THE PILGRIMS IN NEW ENGLAND.

1. Why did the Separatists go to Leyden?
2. Why were they not content to stay in Holland?
3. What plans for going to the new world did they make?
4. Describe the voyage.
5. Tell about their first winter at Plymouth.
6. How did the Pilgrims deal with the Wampanoags?
7. How did they deal with the Narragansetts?
8. Tell about the growth of Plymouth colony.

44. THE PURITANS IN NEW ENGLAND.

1. The colony of Massachusetts Bay.
 - a.* The Puritan party in the times of Charles I.
 - b.* The settlement of Salem.
 - c.* The land bought from the Plymouth Company.
 - d.* The management of the Company of Massachusetts Bay.
 - e.* The transfer of its charter.
2. The great settlement.
 - a.* John Winthrop's expedition.
 - b.* Various settlements made in 1630.
 - c.* The founding of Boston.
3. The Puritans as Separatists.
 - a.* Were they Separatists in the mother country?
 - b.* How far did they modify the Episcopal service?
 - c.* How did they finally treat loyal Episcopalians?
4. Parishes and townships.
 - a.* The settlement and its single church.
 - b.* The town meeting and the parish meeting.
 - c.* The first settlers came over as what bodies?
 - d.* The Massachusetts township.
 - e.* The meeting-house and the townhouse.
 - f.* The common.
 - g.* Homes for defense.
5. Prosperous beginnings.
 - a.* The extent of the settlements in 1634.
 - b.* The kinds of business carried on.
 - c.* Indian corn.
6. Education.
 - a.* The first voters.
 - b.* The object of the first schools.
 - c.* The founding of Harvard College.

45. ENEMIES OF THE NEW COLONY.

1. The king's displeasure.
2. The hostility of Mason and Gorges.
3. What scheme grew out of these feelings?
4. How the people made ready to defend themselves.
5. The beginnings of New Hampshire.

46. DISSATISFIED SETTLERS.

1. Roger Williams.
 - a. Some of his opinions.
 - b. The consequence of holding them.
 - c. The founding of Providence.
2. Anne Hutchinson and her friends.
 - a. The reason for her banishment.
 - b. The settlement of Rhode Island.
 - c. The colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.
 - d. The Piscataqua towns.
 - e. The royal province of New Hampshire.

47. THE BEGINNINGS OF CONNECTICUT.

1. The Dutch and the English.
 - a. The Dutch claim.
 - b. The Pilgrims and the Dutch fort.
 - c. Why possession of the region was sought.
 - d. The "Say-Brooke" fort.
2. Thomas Hooker.
 - a. The flocking of settlers to Boston.
 - b. Differences about the method of government.
 - c. Hooker's views on the subject.
 - d. Winthrop's views on the subject.
 - e. The two ideas briefly expressed.
 - f. The same ideas nearly two centuries later.
 - g. The migration to Connecticut.
3. The four river towns.
 - a. Their names.
 - b. Their allegiance at first.
 - c. The Hartford agreement.
 - d. An interesting fact about this agreement.
 - e. The management of the suffrage.

48. THE OVERTHROW OF THE PEQUOTS.

1. Locate four of the Algonquin tribes.
2. How did the Pequots treat their neighbors?

3. Why did the English seek to punish the Pequots?
4. How was Captain Mason's expedition made up?
5. How did the Pequots plan to defend themselves?
6. Tell about the fight.
7. What was the effect of the terrible lesson given the Pequots?
49. THE NEW HAVEN COLONY.
 1. What kind of a state did John Davenport's company wish to form?
 2. Where did the new-comers settle?
 3. What was the colony made up of?
50. THE STORY IN BRIEF OF THE FIVE NEW ENGLAND COLONIES.
 1. Name the five colonies.
 2. When did the Puritans stop coming over, and why?
 3. Tell about (*a*) the population of New England in 1643, (*b*) the occupations of the people, (*c*) their homes, (*d*) their love of education, and (*e*) their first printing.
 4. Compare Massachusetts with each of the other colonies in respect to government.
 5. In what respect did the five governments agree?
51. THE NEW ENGLAND CONFEDERATION.
 1. Why was it formed?
 2. By whom was it managed?
 3. What did the commissioners undertake to do?
 4. What did they refrain from doing?
 5. Why was Rhode Island left out?
 6. Why did England fail to oppose this scheme?
52. THE PERSECUTION OF THE QUAKERS.
 1. How did the Puritans regard the Quakers?
 2. What penalties did they inflict on the Quakers?
 3. What was the effect of this severity?
 4. What action did Charles II. take about the matter?
53. THE KING'S QUARREL WITH NEW ENGLAND.
 1. The stories told him about the New England people.
 2. How New Haven especially excited his anger.
 3. The pursuits of the regicides.
 4. Points of agreement between New Haven and Massachusetts.
 5. How the king punished them both.
54. KING PHILIP'S WAR.
 1. The general treatment of the Indians by the settlers.
 2. The secret of the Indians' hatred of the white man.

3. How the English angered the Narragansetts.
4. The Indian situation in 1670.
5. How the war got its name.
6. How the war was carried on.
7. Canonchet's overthrow.
8. The result of the war to the Indians.
9. The havoc wrought among the English.
55. THE VICEROYALTY OF ANDROS.
 1. Massachusetts and her rule of the eastern settlements.
 2. Massachusetts and the navigation laws.
 3. Massachusetts and the Episcopal church.
 4. The beginning of the Tory party.
 5. The annulling of the charter in 1684.
 6. James II. and Andros.
 7. The reason for uniting the colonies.
 8. The extent of Andros's rule.
 9. Two charters saved.
 10. Andros and his church.
 11. The tyranny of Andros.
 12. The overthrow of Andros.
56. KING WILLIAM'S ARRANGEMENTS IN 1692.
 1. What he did (*a*) with Connecticut and Rhode Island, (*b*) with Plymouth, (*c*) with New Hampshire, (*d*) with Maine, and (*e*) with Massachusetts.
 2. A feature of her charter that Massachusetts did not like.
 3. Quarrels with the royal governors.
 4. The upshot of these quarrels.
 5. How Massachusetts and Virginia were brought into mutual sympathy.

SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS AND DIRECTIONS.

1. What was the difference between the Pilgrims and the other Puritans? In answering this question, consider (*a*) their differences in religious belief, (*b*) the reasons why they came over, (*c*) who were the more tolerant, and (*d*) who left, on the whole, the stronger impress on New England history.
2. What is meant by a tolerant spirit? Are there any opinions that ought not to be tolerated? If so, of what character are they? Is there any conduct that ought not to be tolerated? If so, of what character is it? Should all things that ought not to be tolerated be forbidden by law? Does a tolerant

spirit require one to accept or indorse an opinion toward which he is tolerant? Mention some things the Puritans would not and could not endure, but which people cheerfully permit to-day. Mention any instance of intolerance you have noted among your acquaintances or in yourself. Who are the more tolerant, the ignorant or the educated? In Fiske's *The Beginnings of New England*, find what John Cotton, John Winthrop, and Roger Williams each thought of toleration.

3. What instances of suffering for food are recorded in the history of American colonists? Why should there have been any suffering on this account? What forethought needs to be exercised to-day that people may not starve when winter comes? Is there any country where the inhabitants use no forethought, and yet have enough to eat? If so, describe the country, and tell what sort of people it supports.
4. Mention (*a*) some American names derived from European personages, (*b*) some from European places, (*c*) some from Indian sources, and (*d*) some from other sources. Give the origin and meaning of the names of your state, county, and city or town. The teacher may show how history lurks in names as originally used, though it is generally unheeded in their subsequent applications. Thus, in England, Norfolk, or the north folk, is north of Suffolk, or the south folk, as history requires, while in Massachusetts Norfolk is south of Suffolk in defiance of history and the meaning of the names.
5. Were the Indians more cruel than the whites in New England warfare? Had they a just cause in King Philip's War? Had the colonists a just cause? In what sense may both parties have been in the right?
6. Make out a table of the five New England colonies as they existed in 1650, following the model here given:

NAMES OF THE COLONIES.	FIRST SETTLEMENTS.	DATES.	BY WHOM.

7. Tell something about the Great Rebellion in England, and how it affected New England.
8. Tell something about Oliver Cromwell.

9. Who were the regicides? Give some idea of their number. What reasons did they have for that action which made them regicides? Who approved their action and who denounced it? What is meant by the divine right of kings? Do Englishmen admit such a right to-day?
10. Why were the Puritans so bitter against the Quakers? To what excesses of conduct did extreme persons among the Quakers go? How did Roger Williams treat the Quakers? Show how the Quakers triumphed at last. (For answers see Fiske's *The Beginnings of New England*.)
11. Fill out the following table to cover New England history from 1620 to 1692:

ENGLISH SOVEREIGNS.	YEARS OF REIGN.	ONE OR TWO NEW ENGLAND EVENTS IN EACH REIGN.

12. Why did King Charles II. annul the charter of Massachusetts? What rights was Massachusetts deprived of by this act?
13. What was the reason for annexing the New Haven colony to Connecticut? The Plymouth colony to Massachusetts?
14. Rhode Island has two capitals, and Connecticut had two down to 1873. Account for these capitals. Why did not Massachusetts have two capitals after 1692?
15. What was the object of the navigation laws? Why were they disobeyed? Was it right for New Englanders to disobey them? What is the proper attitude of the good citizen toward a foolish or unwise law? Is general disobedience of law and authority ever justifiable? Was the overthrow of Andros justifiable?
16. What was the leading or characteristic belief of the English Tory; that is, with what party did he side? Was he conservative or progressive? What is conservatism in politics? What is liberalism? Would a Tory to-day agree necessarily with a Tory of the time of Charles II.? Mention a few American Tories. Why in early American politics did the word Tory become a word of reproach?
17. The two original charters of Massachusetts are hung in frames in the office of the secretary of the Commonwealth, and may be seen by any visitor. What charters are these?
18. Did hiding the Connecticut charter from Andros save the rights

- guaranteed the Connecticut people by this charter? Did Andros rule Connecticut? Could he have done it legally under Connecticut's charter? How came Connecticut to have a charter when she began without one?
19. Does the story of the New Englanders thus far show that they were hard to govern or easy? What kind of government was resisted by them? What kind was acquiesced in? Did they improve with experience in managing their affairs? If so, in what respects? Mention a few humble beginnings in New England history that have since become great.

TOPICS FOR COLLATERAL READING.

Selected from Fiske's *The Beginnings of New England*:

1. Three methods of nation-making.
 - a. The Oriental, 9-11.
 - b. The Roman, 12-20.
 - c. The English, 20-32.
2. The Separatists, 66-68.
3. King James's vow to make them conform, 68-71.
4. The church at Scrooby, 71-73.
5. Why the Pilgrims did not stay in Holland, 74, 75.
6. The voyage of the Mayflower, 80-82.
7. The Pilgrims and the Indians, 83-86.
8. The founding of Massachusetts, 103, 104.
9. How a stray pig shaped the course of government, 105-108.
10. The threefold danger of 1636.
 - a. From King Charles I., 111-113.
 - b. From Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson, 114-120.
 - c. From the Pequot War, 121, 122.
11. The history of the Pequot War, 128-134.
12. The Connecticut pioneers, 125-128.
13. Troubles with the Quakers, 179-191.
14. The regicides, 192-194.
15. King Philip's War.
 - a. Puritan treatment of the Indians, 199-206.
 - b. Immediate causes of the war, 206-214.
 - c. The beginning of hostilities, 214-221.
 - d. The overthrow of the Narragansetts, 222-229.
 - e. Hostilities still kept up, 230-236.
 - f. Results of the war, 237-241.
16. The tyranny of Andros, 267-272.

CHAPTER VII.

THE MIDDLE ZONE. 1609-1702.

57. The Founding of Maryland. It will be remembered that in the English plan of 1606 for colonizing North America, three parallel strips, or zones, were designated, beginning upon the Atlantic seacoast and extending westward nobody knew how far. We have seen how the great colony of Virginia was planted in the southern zone, and how the group of colonies called New England was planted in the northern zone. We have followed the story of Virginia down to 1677, after the end of Bacon's rebellion; and we have followed the story of New England down to the new charter of Massachusetts, in 1692. We have now to see what was going on meanwhile in the middle zone, which comprised the country between the Potomac and Hudson rivers. We will begin with Maryland, because it was founded in a different way from Virginia or Massachusetts, and it is now time for us to explain this new way of founding a colony.

It will be remembered that the first English attempt at colonizing North America was made by a private individual, Sir Walter Raleigh, and it was too difficult and costly a task for him even with his great wealth.

The joint-stock companies.

The work was next undertaken by those twin joint-stock partnerships called the London and Plymouth companies. We have seen how the London Company, after founding Virginia, was sup-

pressed, in 1624, by James I., because he was jealous of its growing power and wealth. On the other hand, the Plymouth Company languished till it died a natural death, in 1635; but the Company of Massachusetts Bay, founded in 1629, at once transferred itself to New England, and soon became a republic aggressive and annoying to the English kings.

Now, after Virginia had become known as a thriving community, the work of planting colonies came to be more popular than in the days of Raleigh's unfortunate ventures, and private individuals again took hold of it. It was easy for the king to reward the services of some favorite officer or courtier with a grant of land in America; such grants cost the king nothing. The first person who obtained one was George Calvert, a Yorkshire gentleman whom James I. raised to the peerage as Lord Baltimore. After the fall of the London Company, of which he had been a member, Lord Baltimore wished to found a colony for himself. He was a Roman Catholic, and wished to secure for members of his church a place in America where they might be unmolested, for in England they were not well treated.

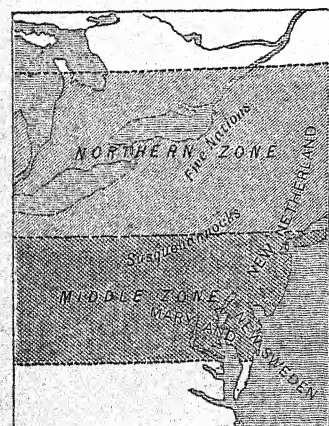
First he tried Newfoundland, but the climate was too severe. Then, in 1629, he explored the country just



FIRST LORD BALTIMORE.¹

¹ After a portrait once in possession of Lord Bacon, now in the Earl of Verulam's gallery at Glastonbury.

north of the Potomac, and found it very attractive. He obtained a grant of it from Charles I., and in compliment to the queen, Henrietta Maria, it was called Maryland. This was a new kind of grant. Lord Baltimore was made "Lord Proprietary" of Maryland, and received privileges the most extensive ever conferred upon a British subject. He was required to pay to the king two Indian arrows yearly in token of homage, together with a fifth part of whatever gold or silver might be mined in Maryland; but as no precious metals were produced in the colony, this rent amounted to nothing. At such an easy cost was Lord Baltimore made an almost independent sovereign. He could coin money, and grant titles of nobility. He could create courts, and appoint the judges, and pardon criminals. He could summon an assembly of representatives, and such laws as it might pass did not need to be approved by the king, but were in force as soon as signed by Lord Baltimore. Finally, his office was hereditary in his family, so that the lord proprietary of Maryland was very much like a king.



SETTLEMENT OF THE MIDDLE COLONIES, 1614-64.

Just before this charter was issued, George Calvert died, so that it was issued in the name of his son, Cecilius Calvert, second Lord Baltimore. Under his rule, the first settlement was made at St. Mary's, in 1634.

In order to secure toleration for Catholics without offending the British government, it was necessary to pursue a policy of general toleration, so that people of all creeds were drawn to Maryland, and the colony grew rapidly in population and wealth.

First settlement of Maryland.

58. Religious Quarrels in Maryland. The people of Virginia were not pleased at seeing a region so near them granted to Lord Baltimore for the site of a rival colony. One Virginia gentleman, William Claiborne, who had settled on Kent Island, in Chesapeake Bay, resisted the Mary-



SECOND LORD BALTIMORE.¹

land settlers with armed force. He was defeated and driven from Kent Island, in 1634, but he nursed his wrath. By 1645, a good many Puritans had come to Maryland, and wished to undermine the proprietary government and to molest the Catholics. Supported by the Puritans, Claiborne invaded Maryland, and for a moment overthrew the government; but the loyal supporters of Lord Baltimore soon rallied and drove him out. Once more, in 1654, the Puritans and Claiborne tried their game, and were victorious in a battle fought near the site of Annapolis; but Oliver Cromwell, after a patient examination of the case, decided that the Calverts were entitled to govern Maryland, and, in 1658, their government was restored.

Puritans and Catholics.

¹ After an engraving made in 1657, now in possession of the Maryland Historical Society.

After this, the times were peaceful in Maryland till after 1676, when religious quarrels again became prominent. This time it was the Episcopal clergy who tried to oppress Catholics and Quakers. But they had not much success until after the accession of William and Mary, when new laws enacted by Parliament against Catholics annulled the charter of the Calverts, and their government suddenly fell to the ground. From 1692 to 1714, Maryland was ruled by governors appointed by the crown. The seat of government was transferred from St. Mary's to Annapolis. Taxes were levied for the support of the Church of

Episcopals
and
Catholics.

England, of which only a small part of the population were members. Catholics were forbidden to come to Maryland, and the public celebration of the mass was strictly prohibited. Such measures caused much discontent, and created a strong party hostile to the British government. At length, in 1714, the fourth Lord Baltimore turned Protestant, and his proprietary rights were revived. Maryland remained



SETTLEMENT OF MARYLAND.

a sort of hereditary monarchy until 1776, when the rule of the sixth Lord Baltimore was ended by the Declaration of Independence.

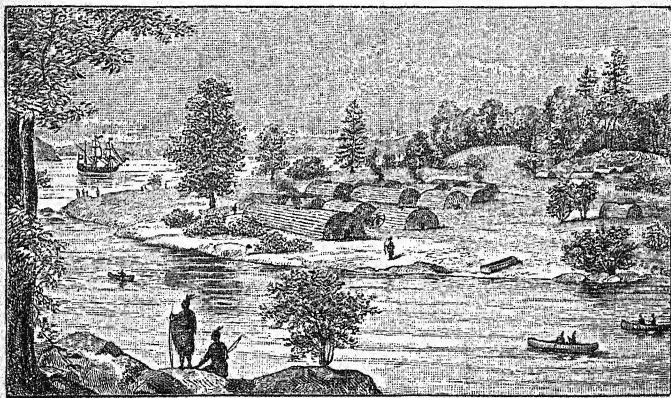
The method of creating a new colony by a grant to a lord proprietary was first adopted by the crown in the case of Maryland. A similar method was followed in all the colonies afterward founded south of New Eng-

land, though there were variations in detail, and no other rulers came quite so near kingship as the Calverts.

At first, the settlers of Maryland supported themselves, just like the settlers of Virginia, by raising tobacco on large plantations; and in regard to negro slaves, mean whites, fewness of roads, and absence of towns and schools, the two colonies were almost exactly alike. But in the eighteenth century, the wheat crop came to be very large; great quantities of wheat and flour were exported, and the city of Baltimore, founded in 1729, soon became one of the most thriving Atlantic seaports. With the lapse of time, Maryland became more and more a commercial state, and her interests, while partly like those of Virginia, were also partly like those of Pennsylvania and New York.

Life in the
Maryland
colony.

59. The Settlement of New Netherland by the Dutch. Before the Calverts had made their first settle-



MANHATTAN ISLAND IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.¹

ments on the Potomac, before the Mayflower had landed her Pilgrims at Plymouth, bold navigators and enterpris-

¹ From *The Memorial History of the City of New York*, i. 33.

ing merchants from Holland had taken possession of Manhattan Island, where the city of New York now stands. In the summer of 1609, the English sailor, Henry Hudson, then in the service of the Dutch East India Company, sailed along our coasts in his little ship, the Half Moon, entered the beautiful river that bears his name, and ascended it as far as the head of tide-water, at the site of Albany. A good many people believed that the continent in that latitude was not much

The Dutch
on the
Hudson
River.

wider than Central America, and Hudson was looking for some strait through which he might sail into the Pacific Ocean. What he found was the river which gave most direct and ready access to the fur trade of the interior. The Indians had plenty of valuable furs which they were glad to trade for steel hatchets, jackknives, and cheap trinkets. Dutch traders were, accordingly, soon drawn to Hudson's River, and made fortunes quickly out of the traffic in peltries. By 1614, they had made a settlement on Manhattan Island, and the New Netherland Company was organized. By 1623, the Dutch had established posts as far north as Albany, and as far south as Fort Nassau, near where Philadelphia now stands. They called the Hudson the North River, and the Delaware the South River, and the



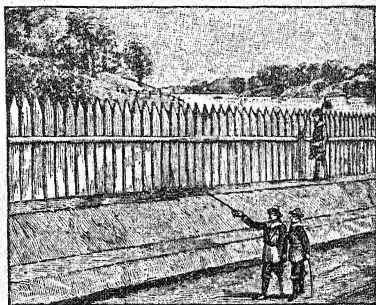
HENRY HUDSON'S
RIVER.

country between the two was known as New Netherland. In 1626, Peter Minuit, the governor of New Netherland, bought Manhattan Island from the Indians for about twenty-four dollars' worth of beads and ribbons. The city beginning to grow up there was called New Amsterdam, and, by 1664, it had a population of 1,500 souls. It was situated entirely south of Wall Street, along which there ran a wooden palisaded wall. New Amsterdam.

All creeds were tolerated, and people came from all parts of Europe; it is said that as many as eighteen languages were spoken in New Amsterdam.

At first, it was the fur trade that interested everybody, and little attention was paid to farming.

Accordingly, the New Netherland Company offered a prize to any member who should bring fifty permanent settlers into the colony. The prize was an estate of sixteen miles frontage on the Hudson River, and of



PALISADES ON WALL STREET.¹

depth undetermined. Between New York and Albany there would be room for about ten such manorial estates on each side of the river. The proprietors could hold little courts of their own, and had some other privileges like those of lords in Europe in the old times. These proprietors were called "patroons," and played a very important part in the history of the colony. The "patroons."

The Dutch in Holland were in many respects as free a people as the English, and in some respects more enlightened, but the colony of New Netherland had no

¹ From *The Memorial History of the City of New York*, i. 248.

representative assembly. The governor had a small council of from eight to twelve men to advise him, but there was no real check upon his authority, except that people could complain of him to the government in Holland, and beg to have him removed. The two governors who succeeded Minuit were men of weak head and bad character. The colony was grossly misgoverned, and, in 1643-45, was nearly ruined in a murderous war with the Algonquin tribes of the neighborhood. Fortunately, the Dutch secured the firm friendship of the Iroquois, who soon found that rich peltries would buy muskets and powder and ball to be used against other red men and against the French in Canada.

The famous Peter Stuyvesant, who was sent, in 1645, to govern New Netherland, was an arbitrary ruler, but honest and much more sensible than his predecessors. Under his rule, the wealth



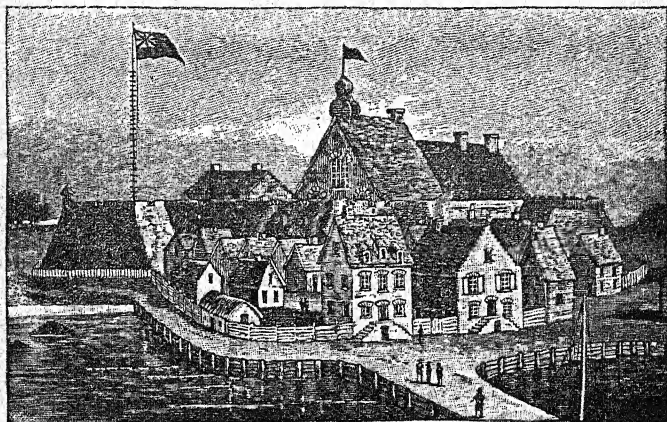
PETER STUYVESANT.¹

and population of the colony were more than doubled. Stuyvesant had rival colonizers to contend with. In 1638, a small party of Swedes had taken possession of the mouth of the Delaware River and made a settlement there which they called New Sweden; it was the beginning of the little state of Delaware. The Dutch

looked upon these Swedes as intruders, and, in 1655, Stuyvesant overcame them, and annexed their territory west

¹ From *The Memorial History of the City of New York*, i. 243.

of the river to New Netherland. But it was soon the turn of the Dutch themselves to be swallowed up by a greater power. England and Holland were commercial rivals; the Hudson River was the most important military position on the American coast, and the most convenient avenue to the fur trade; the English, therefore, had no mind to leave it in the hands of the Dutch. In 1664, King Charles II. fitted out a small fleet, under command of Richard Nichols, and sent it over to New Amsterdam, to demand the surrender of the colony. It



THE STRAND, WHITEHALL STREET, NEW YORK, 1673.¹

was rather a cool demand to make, inasmuch as England was at peace with Holland; but honor and decency were things about which Charles II. cared very little. Governor Stuyvesant was taken by surprise. He had only 250 soldiers wherewith to defend the town against 1,000 English veterans and the ninety guns of the fleet. Resistance was impossible, and so the town was surrendered, and

Capture of
New Am-
sterdam by
the Eng-
lish.

¹ After a view in *Manual of City of New York*, 1869.

with it the province of New Netherland passed without a blow into the hands of the English. In 1673, in the course of a war between England and Holland, the Dutch got possession of the province again, but in 1674 it was finally surrendered to the English by treaty.

60. Early English Rule in New York. New Netherland was given by King Charles to his brother James, Duke of York, as lord proprietary; and the name of the province, as well as that of the town on Manhattan Island, was changed to New York.

New Neth-
erland be-
comes New
York.

It remained a proprietary colony until 1685, when the Duke of York became king of England as James II.; this made it a royal colony. Some of the people were glad to get rid of the Dutch rule because they hoped to have freely chosen representative assemblies, according to the custom in the English colonies, but James was not the man to satisfy them in this respect; he had no love for constitutional government. It was not until 1683 that he gave his consent to the election of representatives in New York. After he had become king, he prohibited elections, muzzled the printing press, and put New York, along with the New England colonies, under the arbitrary rule of Sir Edmund Andros. That military viceroy spent most of his time in Boston, and left a lieutenant-governor, Francis Nicholson, to manage the affairs of New York.

By this time, two antagonist parties had begun to grow up in New York. There were the aristocrats, consisting of the patroons, the officials appointed by the crown, and many of the rich merchants. They belonged to various churches, but among them were many Episcopalians. Opposed to these was the popular party, composed of small traders, artisans, and sailors in the city, and of small farmers in the country. Most of

Parties in
New York.

these people belonged to Independent or Congregational churches, either Dutch, French, or English.

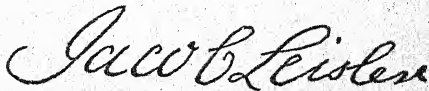
King James was not only a Roman Catholic himself, but believed in compelling other people to become Roman Catholics. The people of New York saw that he persecuted Presbyterians in Scotland, and they were afraid of being persecuted themselves. In the spring of 1689, when it became known in America that King James had been dethroned and had fled to France, the people of Boston at once deposed Sir Edmund Andros and threw him into prison. Nicholson remained in command at New York, and the aristocratic party prudently wished him to stay until a new governor should be appointed by the new king, William III.

Overthrow
of Sir Ed-
mund An-
dros.

A great war between France and England was breaking out, and it was correctly believed that Louis XIV. intended to take New York from the English. Nicholson was suspected of being a Catholic, and the popular party hated Episcopalians almost as bitterly as they hated Catholics. An absurd suspicion arose that the aristocratic party intended to betray New York into the hands of the French.

The leader of the popular party was a German named Jacob Leisler. He was a well-to-do merchant and a deacon in the Dutch Reformed church, with a fierce hatred for Catholics and Episcopalians. Jacob Milborne, an Englishman, who married Leisler's daughter, was one of his chief supporters. In order to save the city from the supposed

Jacob
Leisler.



LEISLER'S AUTOGRAPH.¹

¹ From Winsor's *America*, iii. 411.

traitors, Leisler called out the militia, captured the fort, and drove Nicholson from the city. Afterward, Leisler, at the head of his troops, dispersed the council and set up a government of his own. The aristocratic party opposed these irregular proceedings, and two years of contention followed. Leisler grew more and more arbitrary; he imprisoned citizens of the opposite party and seized upon their property. By degrees his own adherents began to turn against him, while various complaints found their way to the ears of King William. In 1691, the king sent over a new governor, named Henry Slough-ter, with his lieutenant, Richard Ingoldsby, and a small force of troops. The ship which carried the governor was blown out of its course; Ingoldsby, with the rest of the fleet, arrived in New York harbor before him, and summoned Leisler to surrender the city. Leisler refused to do so until Ingoldsby should show the written commission under which he was acting. But this could not be done because the paper was in the governor's ship. Ingoldsby landed his troops and took possession of the City Hall. After six weeks of bullying and threatening, Leisler attacked him there and killed some of the king's troops. The next day, Governor Slaughter arrived upon the scene, and Leisler, deserted by his own men, was taken prisoner. After a brief trial, he and his son-in-law, Milborne, were found guilty of treason and hanged. This was an act of ill judged severity. The victims were regarded as martyrs by the popular party, and political strife in New York was for a long time greatly embittered by this dismal tragedy.

61. Lord Bellomont and the Pirates. From this time forth, New York had a representative assembly and was governed in a constitutional manner. The governor at the end of the century was Lord Bellomont, an excellent

man, whose administration has ever since been remembered for his efforts to suppress piracy. With the growth of ocean traffic since the discovery of America, the seas were covered with merchant ships carrying such valuable cargoes as to afford a great temptation to sea robbers. The depredations and cruelties of the pirates had become unendurable; and in order to begin suppressing them, Lord Bellomont fitted out a swift and powerful war-ship and put it under command of William Kidd, a very able Scotch merchant and navigator, then living in New York. So

Captain
Kidd, the
pirate.

Captain Kidd started to put down the pirates, but after he had been more than a year at sea, it was learned that he had changed his mind and become a pirate himself. In 1699, he was so rash as to go ashore at Boston, where he was at once arrested and sent to London. He was hanged in 1701. At one time, he seems to have hidden some money by bringing it on Gardiner's Island, and for a hundred years afterward people along the coasts of Long Island Sound used now and then to hunt for "Kidd's buried treasures."

62. The Beginnings of New Jersey. The province of New Netherland comprised (1) the valley of the Hudson from the mouth of that river as far up as Albany; (2) the country lying between the Hudson and Delaware rivers, or, as they were commonly called, the North and South rivers. In 1664, after the English conquest of New Netherland, the Duke of York sold out the southern portion of it to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret to hold as lords proprietary. Carteret had won some distinction as governor of the little island of Jersey in the English Channel, and in honor of him, the new province came to be called New Jersey. Carteret's settlements were made in the east, about

Beginnings
of New
Jersey.

Newark, while Berkeley's share in the territory lay to the southwest, where Burlington and Trenton stand. After a few years, Berkeley sold his share to a party of Quakers, and the two provinces of East and West Jersey were organized. The proprietary government was much disliked by the settlers, and, in 1702, the two Jerseys were united into one province and placed under the direct rule of the crown.

63. The Founding of Pennsylvania. The settlement of West Jersey by Quakers led to the founding of Penn-



WILLIAM PENN.¹

sylvania. William Penn, the famous Quaker, was the son of a distinguished admiral, and both his father and himself were always on terms of peculiar friendship and intimacy with the royal family. Penn became interested in the

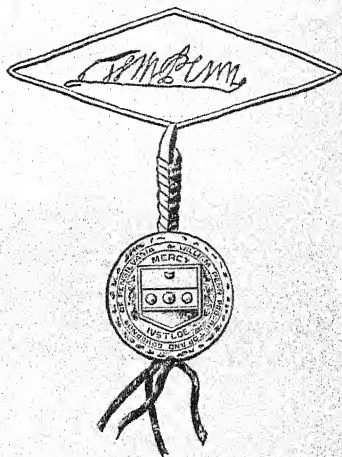
¹ At the age of twenty-two. From a portrait painted in 1666, given to the Pennsylvania Historical Society in 1833 by Granville Penn.

emigration of Quakers to New Jersey, and presently took it into his head to found a Quaker colony according to his own ideas. He inherited the claim to a debt of £16,000 due from the crown to his father; and King Charles II., who never had much ready money for paying his debts, was glad to settle this account by a grant of wild land in America. Accordingly, in 1681, Penn obtained a grant of 40,000 square miles of territory lying west of the Delaware River. In commemoration of Penn's father, the king gave to this princely domain the name Pennsylvania, or "Penn's Woodland."

Beginnings
of Penn-
sylvania.

The charter made William Penn lord proprietary of Pennsylvania. It was drawn up in imitation of Lord Baltimore's charter, but did not confer quite such extensive powers. The principal differences were two: (1) Laws passed by the assembly of Maryland were valid as soon as approved by Lord Baltimore, and did not even need to be seen by the king or his privy council; but the colonial enactments of

Pennsylvania were required to be sent to England for the royal approval. (2) In the Maryland charter the right of the British government to impose taxes within the limits of the province was expressly denied; in the Pennsylvania charter it was expressly affirmed.



AUTOGRAPH SIGNATURE TO PENN'S
FRAME OF GOVERNMENT.¹

¹ Reduced from a facsimile in Smith and Watson's *American Historical and Literary Curiosities*.

In 1682, Penn came over to America; a good many of his settlers had come already. Soon after his arrival,

Penn's "frame of government." a legislative assembly was chosen, and a constitution, or "frame of government," was adopted. It was more democratic than that of Maryland.

In the older colony, nearly all the magistrates were appointed by Lord Baltimore; in Pennsylvania nearly all were elected by the people. Penn's colony was founded on very liberal principles for those times. No one could be molested for his opinions on matters of religion. The laws were extremely humane, and land was offered to immigrants on very easy terms.

In 1683, Penn laid out a city which he called Philadelphia, or "Brotherly Love," after a Greek city in Asia Minor, mentioned in the New Testament. It was laid out in large squares, and the

Founding of Philadelphia.

first streets were named from trees that grew on the spot, — Chestnut, Walnut, Spruce, Pine, etc. The first houses were of wood, but, by 1690, they were usually



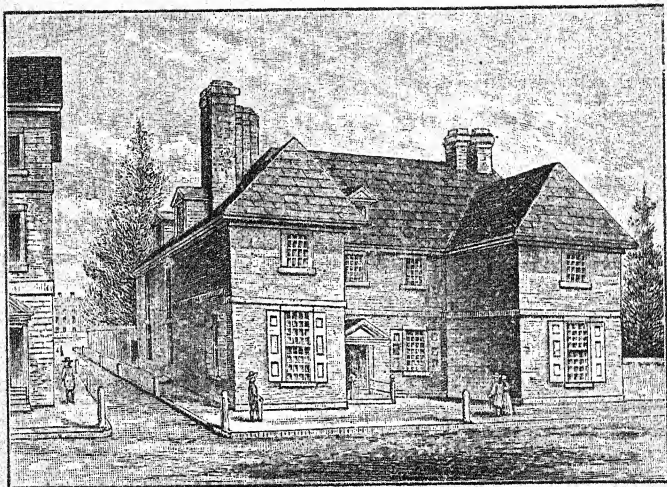
PENN'S WAMPUM.¹

built of brick or stone. By 1685, the town had 2,000 inhabitants, and the

population of the colony was nearly 8,000, of whom not more than half were English; the rest were chiefly Ger-

¹ Soon after his arrival in America, Penn made a treaty with the Delaware Indians under an elm-tree at a place called Shackamaxon, on the bank of the Delaware River. It was customary on such occasions for the parties making the treaty to exchange belts of wampum. The wampum belt shown above is said to have been given to William Penn by the Indians at Shackamaxon. It consists of eighteen strings of black and white beads. The figures in the centre are supposed to represent an Indian and a European with hands joined in friendship. It was presented by one of Penn's descendants to the Pennsylvania Historical Society, in whose collections it may now be seen.

mans and Scotch-Irish, with a considerable number of Swedes, Welsh, and French. It was not long before Pennsylvania had outgrown all the other colonies except Massachusetts and Virginia.



PENN'S SLATE-ROOF HOUSE.¹

Of all the colonies, this was the only one that had no seacoast, and as Penn wanted free access to the ocean, he secured from the Duke of York the proprietorship of Delaware, which, ever since its conquest by Stuyvesant, had formed a part of New Netherland. Until the United States became independent, Pennsylvania and Delaware continued under the same proprietary government, though, after 1702, they were distinct provinces, each with its own legislature.

Penn
obtains
Delaware.

¹ William Penn lived in this house in 1699-1701. It stood on Second Street, between Chestnut and Walnut, at the southeast corner of Norris's Alley. Here his son, John Penn, was born. The house was pulled down in 1868.

The proprietorship of Pennsylvania was hereditary in the Penn family, as that of Maryland was hereditary with the Calverts. Quarrels sometimes arose between the two neighbors concerning the boundary line between them. In 1763-67, the line was finally estab-

lished by two surveyors,

Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon; and long afterward, when negro slavery had been abolished in the

northern states, "Mason and Dixon's line" became famous as the dividing line between free soil and slave soil.



THE MIDDLE COLONIES, 1690.

TOPICS AND QUESTIONS.

57. THE FOUNDING OF MARYLAND.

1. The three zones again.
2. The planting of colonies thus far.
3. A new way of founding colonies.
4. Something about the first Lord Baltimore.
5. The extraordinary privileges granted Lord Baltimore.
6. The second Lord Baltimore.
7. Toleration in Maryland.

58. RELIGIOUS QUARRELS IN MARYLAND.

1. Virginia's attitude toward Maryland.
2. Claiborne's war against Maryland.
3. Cromwell's decision about the rightful rulers.
4. Who began to oppress the Catholics after 1676?
5. What measures of oppression were adopted?
6. What was the outcome of such measures?
7. Tell about the business of the colony.

59. THE SETTLEMENT OF NEW NETHERLAND BY THE DUTCH.

1. When and by whom was the Hudson River discovered?
2. What was Hudson looking for?
3. How did a Dutch trade spring up?
4. What early Dutch settlements were made?
5. What country was called New Netherland?
6. Tell about New Amsterdam.
7. Tell about the estates of the patroons, and how there came to be such estates.
8. Describe the government of New Netherland.
9. What did the Dutch have to do with the Indians?
10. Tell about Stuyvesant and the Swedes.
11. How did the English come into possession of New Netherland finally?

60. EARLY ENGLISH RULE IN NEW YORK.

1. How came New Netherland to be called New York?
2. How did it become a royal colony?
3. Why were some people glad to get rid of Dutch rule?
4. What harsh measures did James adopt when he became king?
5. What opposing parties grew up in New York?
6. What events in New York followed the overthrow of King James?
7. What was the suspicion of the popular party?
8. What measures did the popular party under Leisler adopt to save the city?
9. Show how Leisler provoked opposition to himself.
10. Tell how the new governor overthrew Leisler.
11. What was the fate of Leisler?

61. LORD BELLOMONT AND THE PIRATES.

1. What led to the prevalence of piracy?
2. What was Captain Kidd commissioned to do?

3. What did he really do?
4. Explain his buried treasures.
62. THE BEGINNINGS OF NEW JERSEY.
 1. What did New Netherland comprise?
 2. What part did the Duke of York sell, and to whom?
 3. How came the new province to receive its name?
 4. How came there to be two Jerseys?
 5. When and why were they united?
63. THE FOUNDING OF PENNSYLVANIA.
 1. Who was William Penn?
 2. How came Penn to be a landowner in America?
 3. What was his domain?
 4. In what two respects did Penn have less power than Lord Baltimore?
 5. How was Penn's government more democratic than that of Maryland?
 6. What liberal policy did Penn's government adopt?
 7. Give an account of early Philadelphia, speaking (*a*) of its name, (*b*) of its plan, (*c*) of its streets, and (*d*) of its population and growth.
 8. How did Penn secure a reach of seacoast?
 9. What tie united Pennsylvania and Delaware?
 10. What was the object of "Mason and Dixon's line"?

SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS AND DIRECTIONS.

1. What is a joint-stock company or partnership? What joint-stock companies engaged in colonizing America? How did they make money, or expect to make it?
2. Show how grants of land in America by English sovereigns cost them nothing. What change of view about the ownership of public lands by English sovereigns has taken place since colonial times?
3. Why have so many people come to America to live, and so few left it to live elsewhere?
4. Mention some colony that was early tolerant from principle, some colony tolerant for self-protection, and some colony forced to become tolerant by a change in public opinion.
5. What three religious sects studiously refrained from persecution in colonial times?
6. What is a state church? Show how the Church of England is a state church. What burden does such a church lay upon

the public? Mention some colony that has had experience with such a church. What is the objection to levying taxes to support such a church? Is there any greater objection to taxing one for a church he does not believe in than in taxing him for a road he does not believe in? Reason.

7. Why is the word "New" used in connection with the names of so many American places, as New York, New Jersey, etc.?
8. Why was Manhattan Island so cheap in 1626? (See pages 130, 131.) Why is it so dear to-day?
9. What is meant by saying that property or position is hereditary? In what countries is the right to govern hereditary? In what countries is this hereditary right denied? What right is opposed to it? Is there any right hereditary in the United States to-day?
10. What are the five degrees of British nobility? Has there ever been a colonial nobility? What has the Constitution of the United States to say about titles of nobility?
11. What three great cities have grown up in the middle zone? Tell when each was founded, and by whom. Give some reason why each has grown so rapidly.
12. Trace Penn's seacoast on the map. Trace "Mason and Dixon's line." Was that line long enough really to separate all the slave soil from the free?

TOPICS FOR COLLATERAL READING.

From Cooke's *Virginia*, in the series of "American Commonwealths:"

1. How Lord Baltimore was treated in Virginia, 176, 177.
2. Claiborne's claim to Maryland, 178, 179.
3. His persistent struggle for Maryland, 180, 181.
4. The battle of the Severn, 208-216.

In much that relates to the fur-bearing animals, to the importance of the fur trade, to the debasing brandy traffic, and to the wild life of those who went among the Indians to buy and sell, Parkman's graphic descriptions in his *Old Régime in Canada* hold as good of the Dutch and the English as of the French.

1. The French fur trade, 302-309.
2. The *coureurs de bois*, or bush-rangers, 309-315.
3. The brandy traffic, 322-328.

In his *Jesuits in North America*, Parkman gives a most readable account of the Indians east of the Mississippi, particularly of their

ablest tribes, the Indians of New York. Interesting side glimpses are given in the same work of the old Dutch life and spirit, especially in the chapter on the thrilling experiences of a devoted French missionary among the Mohawks.

1. The dreaded Iroquois, liii-lxvi.
2. How the Dutch supplied the Indians with firearms, 211, 212.
3. The romantic story of Isaac Jogues, 213-238, 296-305.
4. The Dutch settlement at Fort Orange (Albany), 229, 230.
5. How the Dutch befriended Jogues, 231-234.
6. A glimpse of old Manhattan, 235, 236.

In the opening chapters of his *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, Parkman again, in fresh and varied language, describes the Indians east of the Mississippi, and especially the fierce Iroquois, sharply contrasting their treatment by the French with their treatment by the English, and pointing out the far-reaching consequences of these differences of policy.

1. The peculiar totems of the Iroquois, i. 4, 5, 10.
2. Strange Iroquois legends, i. 12-15.
3. Dwellings and daily life of the Iroquois, i. 16-20.
4. The terrible conquests of the Iroquois, i. 22-27.
5. The widely-spread Algonquins, i. 28-39.
6. The kind of man the wild Indian really is, i. 39-45.
7. French and English settlers contrasted, i. 46-64.
8. French and English treatment of the Indians contrasted, i. 65-80.
9. The Quakers and the Indians, i. 80-83.
10. The Quakers' walking purchase, i. 84-86.
11. English fur traders, i. 71, 72, 79, 153-160.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE FAR SOUTH. 1660-1752.

64. The Carolinas. After his restoration to the throne, in 1660, Charles II. had several friends whom he wished to reward for important services. Chief among these were George Monk, Duke of Albemarle, and Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon. To these and six other gentlemen, the king, in 1663, granted the territory between Virginia and Florida. The charter created a proprietary form of government somewhat similar to that of Maryland, except that the proprietorship was vested in a company of eight persons instead of in a single person. The country had been visited a hundred years before by the unfortunate Jean Ribault, and he had called it Carolina, after his king, Charles IX., of France; the name served equally well now that another King Charles was to be commemorated. An elaborate constitution for the proposed colony was drawn up by the great philosopher, John Locke, but it was never put into practice.

There was no intention of making two distinct colonies, but the earliest settlements were made at points so far apart, and under such different circumstances, that distinct governments grew up naturally. The first permanent settlements in North Carolina were north of Albemarle Sound and near the Virginia border; The two Carolinas. the first permanent settlements in South Carolina were about Charleston. Sometimes the two colonies had separate governors, sometimes one governor ruled

them both. The lords proprietary seemed to have cared little for the colonies except as sources of income, and

their rule was very unpopular. For many years there were frequent complaints and disorders. At length, in 1729, the lords proprietary turned over the government to the crown, and the two Carolinas became distinct and separate royal provinces.



SETTLEMENTS IN THE FAR SOUTH.

the beginnings of North Carolina, there were many rough characters for whom life in Virginia was not wild enough. There were also white freedmen who could not hope to rise to social equality with the Virginia planters; these people obtained small farms in North Carolina, with negro slaves to cultivate them. There were also Quakers and other Dissenters who fled from Virginia to escape persecution. In 1707, there came a large company of Huguenots driven from France; and,

65. The Beginnings of North Carolina. Among the people who first pressed through the wilderness from Virginia and made

in 1709, there came a still greater number of Germans from the Palatinate, led by the Baron de Graffenried. He was a native of Bern, in Switzerland, and the first town founded by his company was called New Bern.

North Carolina was then inhabited by a powerful tribe of Iroquois Indians called Tuscaroras. These red men did not relish the sight of such a steadily increasing throng of white people coming to take possession of their forests. So they made war upon the settlers, and began it, after their well-known ^{The Tuscarora war.} fashion, by capturing John Lawson, the surveyor general of the colony, and burning him to death. Then they attacked the farms of the white men and massacred many families. This was in 1711. After two dreadful years of war, the Tuscaroras were completely put down; the remnant of the tribe, in 1715, migrated to central New York and joined the league of their kinsmen in the Mohawk Valley.

After 1730, great numbers of Scotch-Irish came to North Carolina and settled chiefly in the western counties; and, after 1745, there came many Scotch Highlanders. Population grew so fast that by the time of the Revolution, North Carolina ranked fourth among the thirteen colonies. It was almost entirely a population of small farmers. Much tobacco was raised, and the splendid forests of yellow pine yielded lumber, tar, and turpentine.

66. The Beginnings of South Carolina. The first settlers of South Carolina, in 1670, were Englishmen sent out by the lords proprietary. After 1685, Huguenots came from France in large numbers. Some years later came Germans, then a great many Scotch-Irish, and then a few Scotch Highlanders. The races inhabiting the two Carolinas are, therefore, pretty much the

same, though mingled in different proportions. But society was very different in the two. The South Carolina planters grew rich by cultivating rice and indigo on large estates. All labor was performed by negro slaves, who were brought over from Africa in such numbers

OGLETHORPE.¹

that before the Revolution there were at least twice as many black men as white men in the colony. The work on the rice and indigo plantations was directed by overseers. As a rule, the rich planters had comfortable and handsome houses in Charleston, and life in that town, with its theatre, balls, and dinner parties, was quite gay.

67. The Beginnings of Georgia.

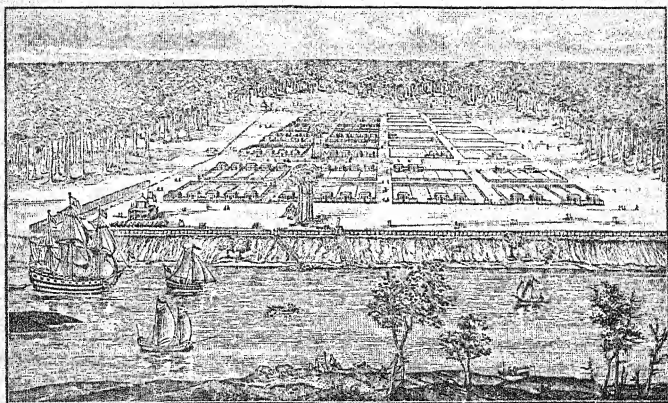
The rapid growth of the Carolinas was not regarded with favor by the Spaniards in Florida. They kept stirring up the Indians to warfare, until, in 1715, a great force of Yemassees, Cherokees, and Catawbias, numbering nearly 7,000 warriors, invaded South Carolina. After they had slaughtered four or five hundred settlers, they were routed by Governor Craven in an obstinate battle, and driven from the province. But they kept up their depredations on the frontier. At length, a brave English soldier, James Oglethorpe, conceived the idea of planting a colony which should serve as a strong military outpost against the Spaniards

James
Ogle-
thorpe, and
the settle-
ment of
Georgia.

¹ From Winsor's *America*, v. 362.

and Indians. In those days it was customary to put insolvent debtors into prison, where they were liable to spend a great part of their lives. Oglethorpe's plan was to release these unfortunate people and take them to America. In 1732, he obtained from George II. a grant of land "in trust for the poor." It was named Georgia, after the king.

Oglethorpe came over in 1733, and founded the town of Savannah. His company of English settlers was reinforced by Germans and Scotch Highlanders. The



SAVANNAH IN 1741.¹

country near the coast was soon dotted with plantations of rice and indigo, and there was a brisk trade in lumber. In 1739, war broke out between Spain and England, and presently Oglethorpe invaded Florida and laid siege to St. Augustine, but failed to take that town. In 1742, the Spaniards invaded Georgia and were totally defeated in a battle at Frederica. The next year, Oglethorpe again laid siege to St.

The Spanish war.

¹ From Winsor's *America*, v. 368.

Augustine ; and, although he did not take it, the Spaniards did not again resume the offensive. Soon afterward, Oglethorpe returned to England. The government of the trustees was unpopular, partly because they undertook to prohibit the importation of rum and of negro slaves. In 1752, the province was surrendered to the crown, and remained under a royal governor until the Revolution.

We have now seen how thirteen English colonies came to be planted in North America. We had before seen how the French, under Samuel de Champlain, had founded a colony upon the river St. Lawrence. We have next to describe the further progress of the French, and see how they struggled with the English for supremacy, and how, at length, the English colonists, aided by troops from England, were completely victorious, and took away from France all her possessions in America.

TOPICS AND QUESTIONS.

64. THE CAROLINAS.

1. By whom was Carolina granted, and to whom?
2. What reason led to the grant?
3. How came the territory to receive its name?
4. Tell how two colonies sprang up when one was intended.
5. When did the Carolinas become royal provinces, and why?

65. THE BEGINNINGS OF NORTH CAROLINA.

1. What sorts of people early made their homes in North Carolina?
2. What Indians were disturbed by their coming, and why?
3. What was the result of the war that ensued?
4. What settlers flowed in after this war?
5. Tell about the farms and industries of the settlers.

66. THE BEGINNINGS OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

1. The classes of early settlers.
2. How they compared with those of North Carolina.
3. How they became well-to-do.
4. The effect of their wealth on their mode of living.

67. THE BEGINNINGS OF GEORGIA.

1. How the Florida Spaniards viewed the growth of the Carolinas.
2. The means they took to check this growth.
3. The result of the war.
4. Oglethorpe's plan of defense against the Spaniards and Indians.
5. His grant and the name given to it.
6. The founding of Savannah.
7. How Georgia at length fell to the crown.

SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS AND DIRECTIONS.

1. Why is Ribault described in the text as unfortunate?
2. What bodies of people were known as Dissenters, and why? Why is the name still used in England, but not in the United States?
3. Who were the Huguenots? Why did many of them come to this country? Why did they not settle in those regions of the new world claimed by France?
4. Where and what was the Palatinate? Why did Germans come over from the Palatinate?
5. Where was the home of the Scotch-Irish? What made them uncomfortable at home and ready to emigrate?
6. In general, what conditions in the old world made so many people dissatisfied there, and what conditions in the new world drew so many to its shores?
7. What were some of Oglethorpe's high aims? What is an insolvent debtor? Show how he fares better to-day than two centuries ago. What two things did Oglethorpe seek to do through his use of such debtors? Why was his opposition to the importation of rum and slaves unpopular?
8. What colonies were granted charters when they were founded? What were made proprietary? What were organized as royal provinces? What was the characteristic thing in each of these three kinds of government?
9. Make out a table of the thirteen colonies in accordance with the following plan:

COLONIES.	FIRST SETTLED WHEN?	WHERE?	BY WHOM?	ORIGINAL GOVERN- MENT.

10. To what country or countries do you trace your ancestry? What is meant by pride of birth or pride of family? Why do people like to claim relationship with, or descent from, the illustrious?
11. In what sense are all Americans foreigners? What is it for the foreigner to become Americanized? What are the signs that the process is complete? What are some of the means of hastening the process? Ought the foreigner to learn English? Ought he to become a citizen? What old-world things ought he to abandon? What old-world things is it proper for him to cling to?
12. What nationalities do not assimilate with the American? Is it good policy to keep out of this country any civilization inferior to ours, and that shows no signs of becoming like ours? Ought immigration to be discouraged? Ought it to be restricted?

TOPICS FOR COLLATERAL READING.

Selected from Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe*, vol. i.:

1. French claims on the American continent, 20-25.
2. An estimate of the thirteen British colonies:
 - a. Massachusetts the type of the New England colonies, 26-28.
 - b. Virginia in contrast with Massachusetts, 29-31.
 - c. Pennsylvania different from both, 31, 32.
 - d. New York with its Dutch coloring, 32, 33.
 - e. The remaining colonies, 33.
 - f. Their mutual jealousies and internal disputes, 33-35.
3. The combatants in the coming struggle:
 - a. The England of the eighteenth century, 5-9.
 - b. The France of Louis XV., 9-16.

CHAPTER IX.

OVERTHROW OF NEW FRANCE. 1689-1763.

68. The Mississippi Valley Claimed for France by La Salle. Interest in the fur trade combined with missionary zeal to draw the French explorers farther and farther into the interior of the North American continent. In Champlain's time, a Jesuit mission had already been established among the Huron Indians, and it was destroyed, in 1649, by the terrible Iroquois. Before 1670, the French were exploring Wisconsin, and had made settlements at Sault Sainte Marie, at the entrance of Lake Superior, and at Saint Esprit, on the southern shore of that lake. If you look at a map of Wisconsin and its neighbor states, you will notice many French names, such as Eau Claire, Lac Qui Parle, Prairie du Chien, and others, preserving the recollection of the time when no white men but Frenchmen had set foot in that part of the country.

French explorers and missionaries in the northwest.

In 1673, Marquette and Joliet discovered the northern part of the Mississippi, and descended that great river in boats about as far as the mouth of the Arkansas. Six years afterward, the work of exploring the Mississippi valley was taken up by Robert de La Salle, one of the bravest and most sagacious explorers that ever lived. He had already made an expedition, in 1669, in which he discovered the Ohio and Illinois rivers. In 1679, he launched in the Niagara River the first vessel ever seen on the Great Lakes,

Discovery of the Mississippi.

the Griffin, of forty-five tons burthen. He passed through the lakes Erie, Huron, and Michigan, and sent back the vessel for further supplies, while he pushed on to the Illinois, and built a small fort there, which soon received the name of Crèvecœur, or "Heartbreak." The Griffin was never heard from, and in March, 1680, La Salle started, with four Frenchmen

La Salle
and the
Griffin.

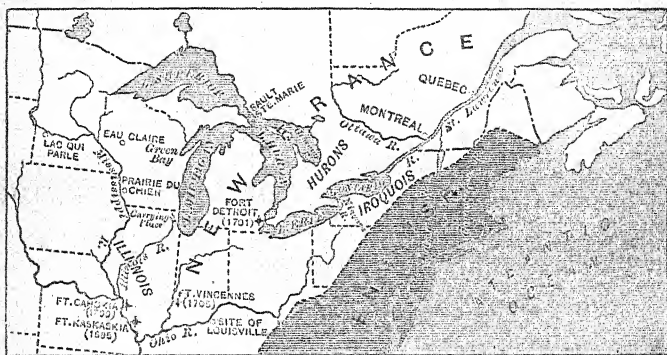


LA SALLE.¹

and one Indian guide, and they made their way, partly by canoes, partly on foot, through a thousand miles of tangled wilderness to Montreal. After obtaining fresh supplies, he made his way back to the Illinois River,

¹ This follows a design given in Gravier, which is said to be based on an engraving preserved in the Bibliothèque de Rouen.

meeting strange adventures on the way. Part of the garrison left in Fort Crèvecœur had mutinied and pulled the fort to pieces; reinforced by other knaves, they cruised on Lake Ontario in canoes, in the hope of kill-



NORTHERN PART OF NEW FRANCE.

ing La Salle and plundering his party, but La Salle defeated them and sent them in chains to the governor of Canada for punishment. The remainder of the garrison at Crèvecœur, with their noble young leader, Henri de Tonty, whom La Salle had left in charge, took refuge among the Illinois tribe of Indians; in the course of the summer, the great village of the Illinois was destroyed by the Iroquois, and the little band of Frenchmen retreated to Green Bay on Lake Michigan. So when La Salle reached the Illinois country, he found his friends all gone. He spent the winter making alliances with the western tribes, and in the next summer, after finding his friend Tonty on Lake Michigan, the two returned in canoes to Montreal to obtain fresh resources.

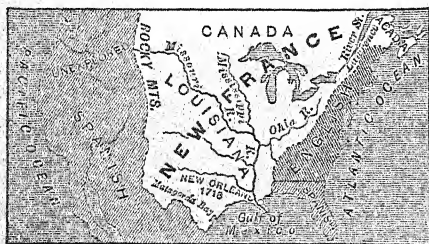
La Salle suffered from want of money, and it was very discouraging that a ship from France, bringing many

thousand dollars for his use, should have been wrecked and all the money lost. On his second return to Montreal without achieving anything, ill disposed people ridiculed him. But the evil fates had grown tired of fighting

La Salle's third attempt to explore the Mississippi.

against such a man, and his third attempt was crowned with success. With a fleet of canoes he ascended lakes Erie, Huron, and Michigan, and the Chicago River, then marched through the woods across the portage, or carrying place, from the Chicago to the Illinois; then launched the canoes again on the latter river, and

thence, coming out upon the Mississippi, glided down to its mouth. On the 9th of April, 1682, the banner of France was planted there, and La Salle took possession of the great



NEW FRANCE.

river and its country in the name of Louis XIV., King of France, after whom he called the country Louisiana.

That name Louisiana is now restricted to the state through which the Mississippi River in its lowest portion flows into the Gulf of Mexico. When first given by La Salle it had a much wider meaning. The French maintained that to discover a river establishes a claim to all the territory drained by that river and by its tributaries. Now, nearly all the rain that falls in the United States, from the crest of the Alleghanies all the way to the crest of the Rocky Mountains (except what runs into the Great Lakes), is drained off through the Mississippi River. La Salle knew nothing about the regions west of that river,

but the name Louisiana covered the country from the Alleghanies to the Rocky Mountains.

The water that runs into the Great Lakes is drained off through the St. Lawrence, of which the French had already taken possession. As Champlain was the founder of New France with his Canadian colony, so La Salle gave to New France its widest extension with his acquisition of Louisiana. Compared with this enormous stretch of territory, the strip of English colonies along the Atlantic coast would seem very narrow.

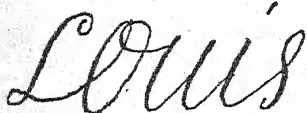
But La Salle well knew that to make other nations respect the claims of discoverers, it is necessary for the discoverers to take armed possession of the territory claimed. So he returned to France, and fitted out an expedition to come by sea and found a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi. But his pilots missed the entrance to the river and landed four hundred miles to the west of it, at Matagorda Bay. After two years of misery, the indomitable La Salle started on foot in the hope of making his way to Canada and finding relief, but he had scarcely set out with this forlorn hope when two or three mutinous wretches of his party skulked in ambush and shot him dead.

Efforts to
take armed
possession
of Louisi-
ana.

69. The Outbreak of War between France and England. Not content with possessing the broad valleys of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, the French now cherished an intention of conquering the valley of the Hudson, thus cutting off the English from any approach to the Great Lakes, and from any share in the rich fur trade of the northwestern forests. The breaking out of war in Europe seemed to afford them an opportunity for doing this.

The power of France under Louis XIV. was becom-

ing so great as to alarm the rest of Europe, and William of Orange, Stadholder¹ of the Netherlands, was at the head of an armed league for the purpose of resisting the French. James II., king of England, was uncle to William of Orange, and also his father-in-law, for William had married James's eldest daughter, Mary. In the winter of 1688-89, there was a Revolution in England. The tyrannical James II. was driven from



AUTOGRAPH OF LOUIS XIV.

the throne and fled to France, where he obtained sympathy and aid from Louis XIV. The people of England invited William and Mary across the chan-

nel and made them king and queen. So now the European struggle took the form of a great war between Louis XIV., king of France, and William III., king of Great Britain and Ireland. This meant war between Frenchmen and Englishmen in America as well as in Europe.

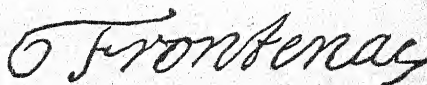
The year 1689 is one of the most important dates in American history, and ought by all means to be remembered. It marks the end of "early American history," properly so called. By 1689, all the English colonies had been founded except Georgia. Some of them, such as Pennsylvania and the two Carolinas, were still very young colonies, whose adult inhabitants had nearly all been born in Europe; in others, such as Massachusetts and Virginia, the grandsons of the first settlers had grown to manhood. By 1689, the work of La Salle had given to the French dominion its widest extent. In 1689, began the long strug-

¹ In the old Dutch Republic, the chief executive officer, or president, was called the Stadholder. The word is often wrongly spelled Stadtholder.

gle between the French and the English, to determine which people should be masters of North America. In 1689, began the middle epoch in American history that extended to 1789. Of this period of just one hundred years, the first seventy-four, up to 1763, were occupied with the struggle between the French and the English; the last twenty-six, from 1763 to 1789, were taken up with the separation of the thirteen English colonies from Great Britain, and their organization into a federal nation, the United States of America.

Let us remember that the Early Period of American History ends with the breaking out of war between France and England, in 1689. We have now to enter upon the Middle Period, one hundred years in duration, which followed.

70. The Blows of Frontenac. In 1689, Louis XIV. sent Count Frontenac to be governor of Canada. Frontenac was an old man of wonderful energy and vivacity; though nearly seventy



AUTOGRAPH OF FRONTENAC.

years of age, he was as gay and spirited as a youth fresh from school. He had been governor of Canada before, and exercised remarkable tact with the red men; friendly Indians adored him, hostile Indians were terribly afraid of him. He would smear his face with war paint, and caper about in the war dance, brandishing a tomahawk over his head. When the time came for striking, his blows were apt to be heavy. He now came over to Canada with orders to conquer New York. He expected to raise 1,600 men at Montreal and take them down the Hudson River. It was the time when the city of New York was distracted by

Frontenac's plan to capture New York.

the usurpation of Jacob Leisler, and the danger was great. But New York was saved for the English by their powerful allies, the Five Nations. These Indians had already begun war upon Canada, and cut off the fur trade. In the summer of 1689, they laid siege to Montreal, and roasted and devoured their French captives in full sight of that terror-stricken town. So when Frontenac arrived, he had his hands full with defending Canada, and was obliged to defer the plan of conquering New York.

His great scheme dwindled into a frontier raid. In February, 1690, a small party of French and Indians, sent out by Frontenac, surprised the village of Schenectady at midnight and massacred sixty inhabitants. A few of the people escaped in their night-clothes, and found refuge in Albany, half dead after their dreadful tramp through the snow. The leader of this expedition was a young French Canadian of noble birth, named Iberville.

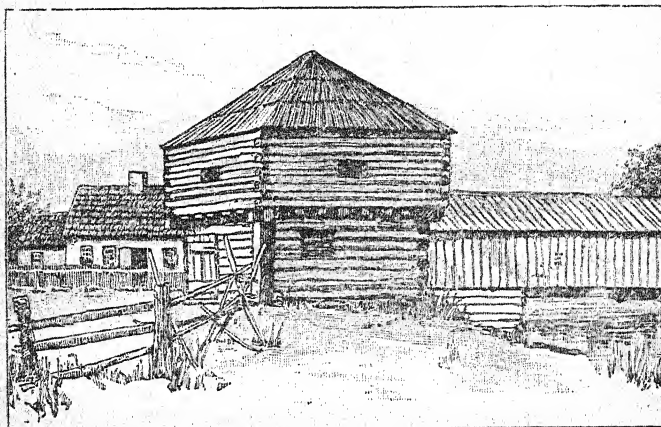
About a month later, another of Frontenac's war parties laid waste the village of Salmon Falls, in New Hampshire; and shortly after, Fort Loyal, standing where now is the foot of India Street in the city of Portland, met with similar treatment. Such horrible scenes were repeated from year to year, and often the frightened people of the exposed villages were obliged to flee to their blockhouses for defense. In 1692, one third of the inhabitants of York, in Maine, were massacred; and, in 1694, more than a hundred people, mostly women and children, were slaughtered at Durham, in New Hampshire; many of these unhappy victims were burned alive. Then Groton, in Massachusetts, was attacked, and forty people killed. Of these Indian assaults, that of Haverhill, in 1697, was

Massacre at
Schenec-
tady.

Massacres
in New
England.

perhaps the most famous, on account of the bold exploit of Hannah Dustin, a farmer's wife.

Mr. Dustin was at work in a field, with his seven children playing about him, when all at once he heard the



NEW ENGLAND BLOCKHOUSE.¹

dreadful war whoop. Seizing his gun and leaping upon his horse, he discovered that the Indians were between him and the house, so that it was impossible to rescue his wife. So he told his children to run on before him, while he fired back upon the Indians and kept them at a distance, and in such wise they arrived safely at the nearest fortified house. Meanwhile, in Mr. Dustin's house an Indian had seized the baby by one of its ankles, and taking it outdoors, swung it against

Story of
the bravery
of Mrs.
Dustin.

¹ Such strongholds were usually built in or near the New England villages, in early times, for protection against Indian attacks. The projecting upper story afforded an advantage in firing down at assailants or in throwing down stones upon them. The blockhouse shown above was built in 1754, near the junction of the Kennebec and Sebasticook rivers, in Maine. The sketch was made by Justin Winsor in 1852, and is engraved in his *America*, v. 185.

a tree and dashed out its brains. The savages took Mrs. Dustin and a neighbor, named Mary Neff, and started off for Canada. Among the captives in the party was an English boy who understood the Algonquin language, and he learned that at the end of their journey the prisoners were to be tortured. When he told this to Mrs. Dustin she resolved upon a bold stroke. They were in charge of a party of nine male Indians and three squaws. One night, when the savages were sound asleep by their camp fire in the New Hampshire woods, Mrs. Dustin, Mary Neff, and the boy arose very quietly and took each a tomahawk, and with swift and well aimed blows crushed in the skulls of ten of their sleeping enemies. One young boy and one squaw got away. Mrs. Dustin scalped the dead men, and the three companions made their way more than a hundred miles through the forest, and arrived at Haverhill half dead with hunger and fatigue. A bounty of £50 was paid for the ten scalps, and Mrs. Dustin's fame spread so far that the governor of Maryland sent her a present.

The people of New England did not sit quiet while the French were thus sending tomahawks and firebrands against them. In 1690, a force of 2,000 Massachusetts militia, led by Sir William Phips, sailed up the St. Lawrence and laid siege to Quebec; while another force of New York and Connecticut troops, under Fitz-John Winthrop, started from Albany to advance upon Montreal. But these amateur generals were no match for Frontenac, and both expeditions were unsuccessful.¹

¹ It was about this gloomy time that the witchcraft delusion prevailed in Massachusetts. Nearly all people at that time believed in witchcraft, and in Europe executions for that imaginary crime were frequent. In the Salem Farms, near Salem, half a dozen young girls and an Indian servant in the household of Rev. Samuel Parris went into fits, played various

In 1693, Frontenac began to invade and lay waste the country of the Five Nations, and by 1697, he had wrought such havoc there that these haughty Iroquois sued most humbly for mercy. Their confederacy never recovered from the blows dealt it by Count Frontenac.

Serious
defeats
of the
Iroquois.

71. The Struggle Renewed in Queen Anne's War.

In 1697, the war between France and England was ended by the treaty of Ryswick, and thus the conflict known as King William's War was stopped in America. But the peace was of short duration. The war in Europe broke out again in 1701, and bloodshed was renewed in America. As William III. died early in 1702, and was succeeded by Queen Anne, this



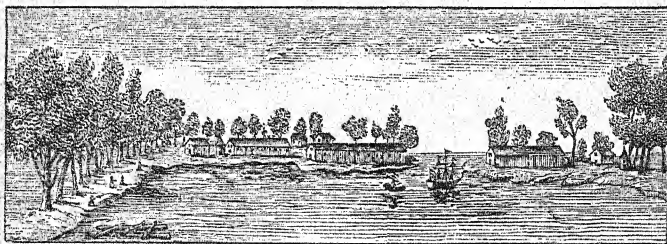
ACADIA.

war was known in America as Queen Anne's War. It lasted twelve years. In the course of it, the Indians perpetrated an atrocious massacre at Deerfield, in 1704, and another at Haverhill, in 1708. In the far South, the French and Spaniards, who were now in alliance, sent queer pranks, and accused several persons of having bewitched them. This started a panic which lasted through the greater part of the year 1692; in the course of it, nineteen persons were hanged for witchcraft, and one old man, Giles Corey, was pressed to death under heavy weights for refusing to plead "Guilty" or "Not Guilty."

from Cuba a fleet to attack Charleston; but the gallant South Carolinians were victorious and drove away the assailants. In the North, another expedition sailed against Quebec, but failed like the first one. English troops, however, British and colonial, conquered Nova Scotia; and when the war was ended by the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, that province was ceded to England, and the claim of England to the possession of Newfoundland and the Hudson Bay country was fully recognized.

Frontenac had died at Quebec, in 1698, after having so thoroughly beaten the Five Nations that they were not of much use to us in Queen Anne's War. In 1715, the fighting strength of the confederacy was partially repaired by the adoption of the kindred tribe of the Tuscaroras, who, after being driven from North Carolina, migrated to central New York. After this accession, the Iroquois, henceforth known as the Six Nations, formed a power by no means to be despised.

72. French Development and the Third War. Though the French had the worst of it in Queen Anne's



NEW ORLEANS IN 1719.¹

War, they kept steadily strengthening their hold upon the interior of the continent. They established a series

¹ From Winsor's *America*, v. 39.

of fortified posts connecting the Mississippi valley with the Great Lakes ; such as Kaskaskia (1700), Cahokia (1700), Vincennes (1705), and Detroit (1701). These places afterward grew into towns. Iberville, the leader in the Schenectady massacre, made the beginnings of Mobile, in 1702 ; and, in 1718, his younger brother, Bienville, founded New Orleans.

In the western and southern country, the French were at a long distance from the English. Where they were near together there was apt to be trouble, even in time of peace. The French had an establishment at Norridgewock in Maine, where they instigated the Abenakis, a neighboring tribe of Indians, to attack the New England settlements. In 1724, a force of New England troops captured Norridgewock and destroyed it.

Capture of
Norridgewock.

At length, in 1743, war again broke out between France and England, and lasted five years. In America, this was known as King George's War, because George II. was then king. Its principal event was the capture of Louisburg, on Cape Breton Island, the strongest and most important French fortress in America except Québec. After a siege of six weeks, it was taken, on the 17th of June, 1745, by 4,000 New England militia aided by four British war-ships. This victory was hailed with great enthusiasm on both sides of the Atlantic, and the American commander, William Pepperell, a wealthy merchant of Maine, was made a baronet. But when the war was ended, in 1748, by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the British government restored Louisburg to France in exchange for Madras in Hindustan, which France had taken from the English. Great was the wrath of the New England people when they learned that their new conquest had been bartered for a

King
George's
War.



PORT DUQUESNE AND ITS APPROACHES.

heathen city on the other side of the globe. They knew full well that it would not be long before Louisburg would have to be conquered again.

73. War in Advance of its Declaration. It was not long. The peace of 1748 was little more than a truce. The people of the English colonies, especially in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, were beginning to look wistfully across the Alleghany

Mountains; and, in 1750, the Ohio Company, formed for the purpose of colonizing the country along that river, surveyed its banks as far as the site where Louisville now stands. In 1753, the French, taking the alarm, crossed Lake Erie, and began to fortify themselves at Presque Isle, at Le Boeuf, and at Venango on the Alleghany River. The governor of Virginia, Robert Dinwiddie, was much annoyed at this, and sent a messenger to warn the French not to advance any further. It was a delicate business, requiring firmness and discretion. The governor intrusted it to a

Fortifications of the French.

young land surveyor, only twenty-one years of age, but already familiar with Indians and with woodcraft, and already noted for courage and sound judgment. The name of this young man was George Washington. His task involved a winter journey of a thousand miles through the wilderness, with seven companions, negotiations with Indian chiefs as well as French officers, and the gathering of information regarding the enemy's plans.

This difficult task was splendidly performed, though, of course, the Frenchmen did not heed Washington's warnings. The most important point on all that long frontier was the spot where Pittsburgh now stands. It was the main entrance to the valley of the Ohio, and for a long time was called the Gateway of the West. It was the object of the French to keep the English colonists from ever getting through this gateway, or across the Alleghany Mountains. They wished to keep all the interior of the continent for themselves. So, in the spring of 1754, while a party of English were beginning to build a fort at this gateway, a stronger party of French came and drove them off, and built a fortress of their own there, which they called Fort Duquesne. A regiment of Virginia troops was already on its way to the place, and upon the death of its commanding officer, George Washington, the lieutenant-colonel, took command. In a skirmish with the French (May 28, 1754), Washington fired the first shot in one of the greatest wars of modern times. This skirmish brought the enemy upon him in overwhelming numbers, and at a stockaded place, called Fort Necessity, the young commander was obliged (July 4) to surrender his little army. Thus early was he taught to endure adverse fortune.

The Gateway of the West.

Washington's first experience as a commander.

Things were getting so serious that General Braddock came over from England with two regiments of regulars, and, early in the summer of 1755, he began his march through the forest and toward Fort Duquesne. With the colonial militia there were more than 2,000 men, and Washington accompanied the expedition as one of Braddock's staff. Braddock was ignorant of woodland fighting, and was possessed by the dangerous delusion that

Indians were not formidable antagonists. He refused to take good advice, and paid the penalty. Deep in the wilderness near Fort Du-

Defeat of
Braddock's
army.

quesne he marched into an ambush, and his army was cut to pieces. More than 700 were slain, including Braddock himself with three fourths of his officers, and total destruction was averted only by the skill and prowess of Washington. The loss of the French and Indians did not exceed sixty men.

At this time there was danger that the French would attempt to recover Nova Scotia, or Acadia, as it was then usually called. Since its conquest by the English, the peasants of Acadia had shown much disaffection. In

1755, a force of New England troops landed in Acadia, and offered the inhabitants the alternative of taking the oath of allegiance to George II. or being removed from their country. More

than 6,000 people who refused the oath were, accordingly, removed and distributed among the English colonies. The removal was attended with much suffering, but was felt to be a needful military measure. Many of the exiles found their way to Louisiana, and have left numerous descendants in that state.

74. The Fourth War between France and England. The defeat of Braddock and the removal of the Acadians occurred before war between France and Great Britain

The re-
moval of
the Aca-
dians from
their
homes.

was actually declared. The war which ensued, from 1756 to 1763, and which is known as the Seven Years' War, covered a large part of the earth's surface.

France combined with Austria and Russia in the attempt to conquer Prussia, which was then a small kingdom. But Frederick the Great, king of Prussia, proved himself in this war one of the greatest

The Seven
Years'
War.



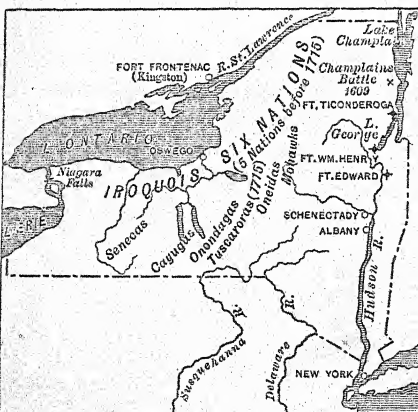
WILLIAM PITT, EARL OF CHATHAM.¹

generals that ever lived. England came to his aid, and the enemies of England and Prussia were terribly defeated. On England's part, the war was managed by one of the greatest statesmen the world has ever seen, the

¹ From the *National Portrait Gallery*, a publication issued in Philadelphia in the early part of this century.

elder William Pitt, afterward Earl of Chatham. By his firm support of Prussia, Pitt kept the main strength of France busily engaged in Europe, while English fleets attacked her on the ocean, and English armies drove her not only from America, but also from India, where she had also gained a foothold.

In America, the defeat of Braddock was not a cheerful opening of the war for the English. Further misfortunes followed it. On the New York frontier, the English cause was sustained by Sir William Johnson, an Irishman who had come to America, in 1738, and settled in the valley of the Mohawk. Johnson's influence over the Indians of the Six Nations was wonderful, and he was one of the most remarkable men of his time. In September, 1755, he defeated the French in a bloody battle on the shore of Lake George. After this he built Fort William Henry to defend the northern approaches to the Hudson River. The French fortified Ticonderoga for themselves.



NEW YORK IN THE FRENCH WAR.

In 1756, the French, under their very able general, the Marquis de Montcalm, captured Oswego and gained control of Lake Ontario. In 1757, Montcalm captured Fort William Henry, when a distressing affair occurred. The English garrison

Johnson's
defense of
the New
York fron-
tier in
1755.

was promised a safe escort to Fort Edward, on the Hudson River, but the faithless Indians fell upon the prisoners and massacred them, in spite of all the French officers could do to restrain their fury. The next summer (1758), General Abercrombie, at the head of 15,000 British and colonial troops, the largest army yet assembled in America, assaulted Ticonderoga, but was terribly defeated by Montcalm.

Successes
of Mont-
calm.

This was the last important French victory. With prodigious exertions, about 50,000 English troops had been raised, — half of them British, half American, — and great things began to be done. In July, we captured Louisburg again, and, in November, we captured Fort Duquesne and changed its name to Fort Pitt; since then it has come to be the city of Pittsburgh, still bearing the name of the great statesman. Colonel Washington took part in this affair and added to his reputation.

Turn of
the tide.



WOLFE.¹

The next year, 1759, saw the great struggle decided. In July, the English took Forts Niagara and Ticonderoga. The youthful General Wolfe spent the summer in fruitless attempts to take Quebec, where Montcalm was ensconced with 7,000 men. The place was nowhere open to a land attack except upon the north-

¹ After a print in Entick's *History of the Late War*, London, 1764, iv. 90

west side, where the precipice was so steep as to be deemed inaccessible. At length, Wolfe found a place where his men with herculean toil could climb this bluff. It was done under cover of darkness, and, on the morning of the 13th of September, the astonished Montcalm beheld an English force 5,000 strong confronting him upon the Heights of Abraham. In the battle which followed, the French were totally defeated. At the decisive moment, the two heroic commanders were borne from the field with mortal wounds, and

How Wolfe
captured
Quebec.



MONTCALM.¹

as life ebbed away, each said his brief and touching words which will never be forgotten. "Now, God be praised, I will die in peace," said Wolfe; "Thank God, I shall not live to see Quebec surrendered," said the faithful Frenchman.

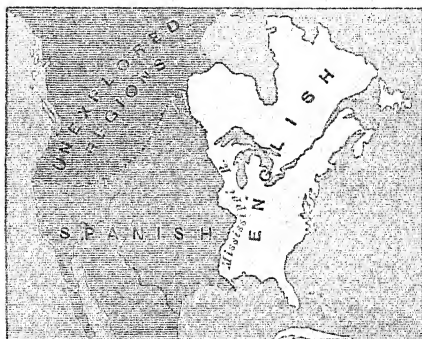
The surrender of Quebec, which took place a few days later,

decided the fate of Canada. But the Seven Years' War did not come to an end until Spain had taken up arms in aid of France. Then, in 1762, England conquered Cuba and the Philippine Islands. When peace was made, in the treaty of Paris, 1763, England gave all these islands back to Spain and took Florida in exchange. In order to indem-

Transfer of
territory
after the
Seven
Years'
War.
1763.

¹ After an engraving in Bonnechose's *Montcalm et le Canada Français*, Paris, 1882.

nify Spain for this loss of Florida, incurred through alliance with France, the latter power ceded to Spain the city of New Orleans and all the scarcely known territory between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains. The country between the Mississippi and the Alleghanies, and the whole of Canada, were surrendered to Great Britain, so that not an acre of mainland in North America remained in the possession of France. No other treaty ever transferred such immense portions of the earth's surface from one nation to another.



NORTH AMERICA AFTER THE PEACE OF 1763.

75. The Algonquin Indians Left Unprotected. The complete overthrow of the French came as a terrible shock to the Algonquin Indians, who now found themselves quite unprotected from the encroachments of English settlers. It occurred to Pontiac, chief of the Ottawas, that if all the tribes could be made to unite in a grand assault upon the English, there might be a chance of overthrowing them. Pontiac succeeded in arousing to bloodshed most of the tribes between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi, and he even prevailed upon the Senecas, one of the Six Nations, to join him. The war broke out in 1763, soon after the end of the great French War. Two years of savage butchery followed, in the course of which many of the English forest garrisons in the West

Pontiac's
scheme to
overcome
the
English.

were overcome and massacred, and the frontiers, especially in Pennsylvania, became the scene of diabolical atrocities. At Bushy Run, in the Alleghanies, in 1764, Colonel Henry Bouquet won the fiercest battle ever fought between white men and Indians; the Senecas were browbeaten and cajoled by Sir William Johnson; and finally, Pontiac, after suing for peace, was murdered in the woods at Cahokia. Useless butchery was all that ever came of his deep-laid scheme.

TOPICS AND QUESTIONS.

68. THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY CLAIMED FOR FRANCE BY LA SALLE.

1. French traders and missionaries in the northwest.
2. The discovery of the Mississippi.
3. La Salle and the Griffin.
4. La Salle and the mutineers.
5. The second attempt to explore the Mississippi, and its failure.
6. The third attempt, and its success.
7. What the Louisiana of La Salle included.
8. The New France of Champlain and of La Salle.
9. Efforts to take armed possession of Louisiana.

69. THE OUTBREAK OF WAR BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

1. How did the French propose to defend their claims?
2. In what way did the English become involved in war with the French?
3. Why is 1689 an important date in American history?
4. What two great struggles fill up the Middle Period?

70. THE BLOWS OF FRONTENAC.

1. How Frontenac won the favor of Indians.
2. His plan for conquering New York.
3. How the Iroquois saved New York.
4. The massacre at Schenectady.
5. Frontenac's dreadful war parties in New England.
6. The story of Hannah Dustin.
7. New England's vain endeavors to punish Frontenac.
8. Frontenac's victories over the Iroquois.

71. THE STRUGGLE RENEWED IN QUEEN ANNE'S WAR.

1. The treaty of Ryswick.

2. Queen Anne's War.
3. Leading events in this war.
4. English gains by the treaty of Utrecht.
5. The Iroquois in Queen Anne's War and later.
72. FRENCH DEVELOPMENT AND THE THIRD WAR.
 1. A chain of French forts, and their object.
 2. The Norridgewock episode.
 3. King George's War.
 4. The capture of Louisburg.
 5. Louisburg under the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.
 6. The wrath of New England excited.
73. WAR IN ADVANCE OF ITS DECLARATION.
 1. What was the purpose of the Ohio Company?
 2. What did the French do in their alarm?
 3. What warning did Virginia give the French?
 4. Describe the messenger and his performance.
 5. Tell about the Gateway of the West.
 6. Show how the French and English struggled for it, and why.
 7. Describe Washington's movement to capture Fort Duquesne, and what came of it.
 8. Describe Braddock's movement to do the same, and what came of it.
 9. What alternative was offered the Acadians, and why?
 10. Give an account of their removal.
74. THE FOURTH WAR BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND.
 1. The dates and extent of the Seven Years' War.
 2. The nations involved in it.
 3. England's management of her part in it.
 4. Johnson's defense of the New York frontier, in 1755.
 5. Montcalm's successes in three campaigns.
 6. The turn of the tide.
 7. How Wolfe captured Quebec.
 8. How Florida came into English possession.
 9. Louisiana east of the Mississippi.
 10. Louisiana west of the Mississippi.
 11. The end of French plans in North America.
75. THE ALGONQUIN INDIANS LEFT UNPROTECTED.
 1. The plight of these Indians, and its cause.
 2. Pontiac's great scheme.
 3. The tribes enlisted in it.

4. Two years of savage warfare.
5. The fate of Pontiac.

SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS AND DIRECTIONS.

1. France and England were involved in each of these European wars:
 - a. The war of the Palatinate, 1689-1697.
 - b. The war of the Spanish Succession, 1701-1713.
 - c. The war of the Austrian Succession, 1743-1748.
 - d. The Seven Years' War, 1756-1763.Show how France and England became involved. What wars in North America corresponded to them? By what treaty was each of these wars closed? What were the gains and losses of territory in North America for France and England by each of these treaties? Make a table of the four French and English wars in America, with their dates and leading events.
2. What regions did New France in its greatest extent embrace?
3. What regions did Louisiana in its greatest extent embrace?
4. What was the basis of the French claim to Louisiana?
5. Grants of land by the English extended how far west?
6. What was the basis of the English claim to the lands thus granted?
7. Was not the French claim as reasonable as the English?
8. Show how conflicts were inevitable because of these claims.
9. Compare French settlers and English in the following points:
 - a. Treatment of the Indians.
 - b. Missionary spirit.
 - c. Toleration of other religions.
 - d. Dependence on the home government in Europe.
 - e. Rapidity and greatness of development.
10. Why did the English gradually work westward? Why do people nowadays work westward?
11. Locate on their appropriate maps all places mentioned in the text.
12. Were Indians engaged on both sides in each of the wars of this period? Were they as cruel on one side as on the other? Wherein did Indian warfare differ from French or English warfare? Is not all warfare essentially cruel and brutal? Is it possible always to avoid war?
13. What feasible policy of colonization might have saved New

France for the French? Were Huguenots, for instance, encouraged to settle in New France?

14. On what facts of history in the text is Longfellow's *Evangeline* based? Compare the French view of the banishment of the Acadians with the English. Which view does the poem present? How much of the poem is to be trusted as historical truth? How much is imagination? Select from the poem pleasing lines about Acadian history, life, or scenery.
15. What reminders of old New France are there in North America to-day?

TOPICS FOR COLLATERAL READING.

Of the twelve volumes of Parkman's works, as published by Little, Brown & Company, of Boston, eleven deal more or less directly with the events lightly touched in this chapter. If the pupil will read the few selections here indicated, he will hardly fail to extend his reading to other parts of the intensely fascinating books from which they are taken.

From *La Salle and the Discoveries of the Great West*:

1. Louis XIV. proclaimed King of the Great West, 40-46.
2. Marquette and Joliet's discovery of the Mississippi, 51-64.
3. The vast projects of La Salle, 73, 74.
4. Destruction of the great village of the Illinois, 201-221.
5. La Salle's descent of the Mississippi, 275-288.
6. The assassination of La Salle, 396-408.

From *Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV.*:

1. The plan of Louis XIV. to conquer New York, 184-190.
2. The boldness of Frontenac in dealing with the Indians, 191-207.
3. Frontenac's three war parties:
 - a. The Montreal party and Schenectady, 208-219.
 - b. The Three Rivers party and Pemaquid, 219-228.
 - c. The Quebec party and Fort Loyal, 228-234.
4. The romantic career of Sir William Phips, 241-243.
5. Frontenac's defense of Quebec, 262-285.
6. The Iroquois the scourge of Canada, 286-315.
7. Why another France did not grow up beyond the Alleghanies, 394-396.
8. The humbling of the Iroquois, 410-427.

From A Half Century of Conflict :

1. The founding of Detroit, i. 15-31.
2. The Deerfield tragedy, i. 52-89.
3. The story of Sebastien Rale, i. 204-240.
4. Lovewell's fight with the Pequawkets, i. 247-260.
5. The Foxes at Detroit, i. 262-287.
6. The chain of posts, ii. 63-77.
7. The siege and capture of Louisburg, ii. 108-160.

From Montcalm and Wolfe :

1. Washington baffled by the French and Indians, i. 132-161.
2. Braddock's march and defeat, i. 204-226.
3. The expulsion of the Acadians, i. 234-284.
4. The battle of Lake George, i. 285-316.
5. The capture of Fort William Henry, i. 474-513.
6. The triumph of Montcalm at Ticonderoga, ii. 83-112.
7. The Heights of Abraham, ii. 259-297.
8. The last of New France, ii. 408-412.

From The Conspiracy of Pontiac :

1. The story of the French and English wars reviewed, i. 95-141.
2. The wilderness and its tenants, i. 642-660.
3. The Indians angered by English inroads, i. 172-180.
4. Pontiac and his great plot, i. 180-190.
5. The treachery of Pontiac, i. 223-231.
6. An Indian game of ball and its awful sequel, i. 338-367.
7. Frontier forts and settlements, ii. 1-27.
8. The war on the borders, ii. 28-53.
9. The Indians forced by Bouquet to give up their captives, ii. 219-235.
10. The strange charms of forest life, ii. 237-240.
11. The death of Pontiac, ii. 299-313.

THE REVOLUTION. 1763-1789.

CHAPTER X.

CAUSES AND BEGINNINGS. 1763-1776.

76. Causes of Ill Feeling between England and her Colonies. When European nations began to plant colonies in America, they treated them in accordance with a theory which prevailed until it was upset by the American Revolution. According to this ignorant and barbarous theory, a colony was a community which existed only for the purpose of enriching the country which had founded it; and the great object in founding a colony was to create a dependent community for the purpose of trading with it. People's ideas about trade were very absurd. It was not understood that when two parties trade with each other freely, both must be gainers, or else one would soon stop trading. It was supposed that in trade, just as in gambling or betting, what the one party gains the other loses. Accordingly, laws were made to regulate trade, so that, as far as possible, all the loss might fall upon the colonies, and all the gain accrue to the mother country. For this purpose, the colonies were required to confine their trade entirely to Great Britain. No American colony could send its rice, or its indigo, or its tobacco to France or to Holland, or anywhere except to Great Britain; nor could it buy a yard of French silk, or a pound of Chinese

The European idea of a colony and its object.

tea, except from British merchants. Then, although

Restrictions in manufacturing and trading.

American ships might take goods over to England, the carrying trade between the different colonies was by law confined to British ships.

Next, in order to protect British manufacturers from competition, it was thought necessary to prohibit the colonists from manufacturing. They might grow wool, but it must be carried to England to be woven into cloth; they might smelt iron, but it must be carried to England to be made into plowshares. Finally, in order to protect British farmers and their landlords, corn laws were enacted, putting a prohibitory tariff on all kinds of grain and other farm produce shipped from the colonies to ports in Great Britain.

Such tyrannical laws had begun to be passed in the reign of Charles II., but they were not very strictly enforced, because so long as the French were a power in America, the British officials felt that they could not afford to irritate the colonists beyond endurance. In spite of laws to the contrary, the carrying trade between the colonies was almost monopolized by vessels owned, built, and manned in New England; and the smuggling of foreign goods into Boston and New York and other seaport towns was winked at.

In 1761, attempts were made to enforce the revenue laws more strictly; and trouble was at once threatened. Charles Paxton, commissioner of customs in Boston, applied to the Superior Court to grant him the authority to use writs of assistance in searching for smuggled goods.

Efforts to enforce more strictly the revenue laws.

A writ of assistance was a general search warrant, empowering the officer armed with it to enter, by force if necessary, any dwelling house or warehouse where contraband goods were supposed to be stored or hidden. A special search

warrant was one in which the name of the suspected person, and the house which it was proposed to search, were accurately specified, and the goods which it was intended to seize were as far as possible described. In the use of such special warrants there was not much danger of gross injustice or oppression, because the court would not be likely to grant one, unless strong evidence could be brought against the person whom it named. But the general search warrant, or writ of assistance, was quite a different affair. It was a blank form upon which the custom house officer might fill in the names of persons and descriptions of houses and goods to suit himself. Then he could summon the sheriff to help him break into the houses and seize the goods. The writ of assistance was, therefore, an outrageous instrument of tyranny; but the issue of such writs was strictly legal, because it had been allowed by an old act of Parliament which had never been repealed.

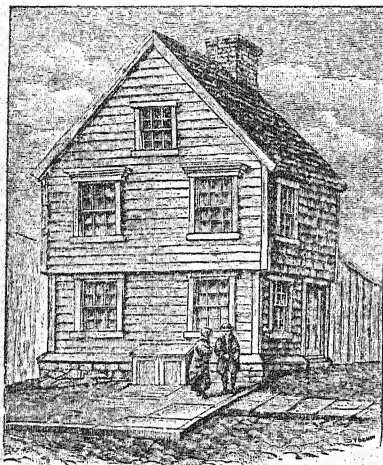
The case was tried in the council chamber in the building now known as the Old State House, in Boston. The eloquent James Otis, in opposition to the granting of the writs, made a great speech which tended to raise the question, how far were Americans bound to yield obedience to laws which they had no share in making. The writs were granted, and custom house officers began breaking into warehouses, and seizing goods which were said to have been smuggled; but sometimes the owners armed themselves, and barricaded their doors and windows, and thus the officers were often successfully defied, for the sheriff was in no haste to come and help them.

These things produced much ill feeling, but were hardly enough to bring on a revolution. For that some more direct and flagrant attack on American liberty was

required; and such an attack was soon made. Let us see how it was that the British government came to make such an attack.

77. The Need of a Federal Union. The great war with France had been carried on by British and American troops, and its expense was borne partly by Great Britain, partly by the colonies. Now one great difficulty in carrying on the war was the difficulty in getting men and money promptly enough. This was because there was no general government in America, but only the separate governments of the thirteen colonies.

Difficulty
in carrying
on the
French
wars.



BIRTHPLACE OF FRANKLIN.¹

One colony would wait for another to act, and a colony not immediately exposed to invasion would be very slow in raising either soldiers or supplies. There ought to have been some power in America legally able to enlist soldiers from the whole people, and to tax the whole people for the support of the war. There

was no such power, and the country suffered for want of it.

In order to create such a power it would be necessary to join the colonies together into a Federal Union. One

¹ It was situated on Milk Street, Boston, nearly opposite the Old South Church. It was burned down in 1810.



Ben^g. Franklin

After a painting by Duplessis in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

XII Mon. February hath xxviii days.

Man's rich with little, were his Judgment true,
Nature is frugal, and her Wants are few;
Those few Wants answer'd, bring sincere Delights,
But Fools create themselves new Appetites.
Fancy and Pride seek Things at vast Expence,
Which relish not to Reason nor to Sense
Like Cats in Airpumps; to subsist we live.
On Joys too thin to keep the Soul alive.

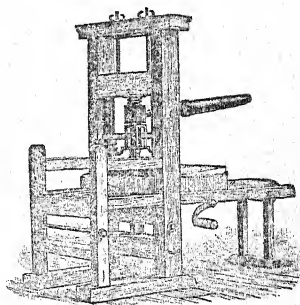
M W Remarkable Days, H | D ☉ rises Lunations,
D. D Aspects. Weather w. pl land fers. Driser & fers

1	7	* ♀ plea	5	21	6	48	6	Last Quarter.
2	E	♄ ♀	9	2	6	47	6	☾ with ♄
3	2	fant. with	10	19	6	46	6	Sirius so. 8 41
4	3	♄ ♀ wind	11	17	6	44	6	☾ rise 3 42 mo
5	4	* set 10 and	12	15	6	43	6	A good Wife &
6	5	perhaps some	12	28	6	42	6	☾ rise 9 7
7	6	rain ☽ ☾	1	26	6	40	6	☉ in ♋
8	7		2	24	6	39	6	☾ rise 5 32
9	E	Shrove Sunday.	3	22	6	38	6	New ☾ 9 day,
10	2	☾ rises 1 38	3h	18	6	37	6	at 3 morn.
11	3	Shrove Tuesday	4	17	6	35	6	☾ with ☽ & ♀
12	4	♄ Wednesd.	5	12	6	34	6	☾ sets 8 56 af.
13	5	* ♀ ☽ ♀	5h	23	6	33	6	Health, is a
14	6	Valentine.	6	20	6	32	6	Man's best
15	7	☾ near 7's	7	17	6	30	6	Wealth.
16	E	Sund. in Lent	8	29	6	29	6	☽ sets 7 18
17	2	clouds with	9	26	6	28	6	First Quarter.
18	3	wind and	10	25	6	26	6	Sirius 10 7 43
19	4	Ember Week.	10	22	6	25	6	* set 12 0
20	5	☉ ☾ rain	11	21	6	23	6	☾ sets 4 2 mo
21	6	or snow.	12	19	6	22	6	☾ rises 8 11
22	7	then change-	1	18	6	20	6	A quarrelling
23	E	Sund. in Lent.	2	17	6	19	6	Man has no good
24	2	St. Matthias.	3	18	6	18	6	Full ☉ 24 day,
25	3	☾ rise 12 52	3h	16	6	17	6	10 morn.
26	4	able even to the	4	15	6	15	6	☾ with ♄
27	5	* ♀ ♄ very	5	14	6	14	6	☾ rise 9 53 af.
28	6	☉ ♀ end.	6	17	6	13	6	Neighbours.

1 Franklin was busy with all sorts of things, great and small. In 1732, he began to publish *Poor Richard's Almanack*, compiled by himself and full of quaint maxims. It became extremely popular, and was translated into many languages. I give a facsimile of the February page, 1746, photographed from a copy belonging to President Holyoke, of Harvard, who died in 1769. Observe that at the top February is called the twelfth month, as usual in Old Style. See Appendix H.

wise man tried to bring this about, but did not succeed. In 1754, Benjamin Franklin proposed his Plan of Union. At that time, Franklin was forty-eight years old. He was born in Boston, but went to Philadelphia at the age of seventeen, and became established in business, first as a printer, afterward as editor of the Pennsylvania Gazette. He founded the Philadelphia Library and the University of Pennsylvania. He made many useful inventions, among them, a kind of open stove that has not yet gone out of use. He also made one of the greatest scientific discoveries of the age, in 1752, when, by experiments with a kite, he proved that lightning is a discharge of electricity. He was also one

Benjamin
Franklin.



FRANKLIN'S PRINTING PRESS.¹

of the finest prose writers of that century. In 1753, the king appointed him postmaster-general for America, and for the rest of his long life he played an important part in public affairs.

In 1754, when the war with France was breaking out, several colonies sent delegates to a Congress at Albany, to insure the friendly aid of the Six Nations. Franklin was present at this Congress, and proposed a Plan of Union for the colonies.

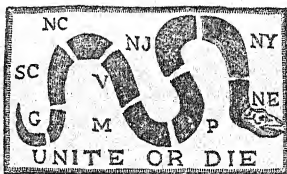
Franklin's
Plan of
Union.

According to this plan, the colonies were to elect a Grand Council which was to meet every year at Philadelphia, the most centrally situated large town. This council would have had powers similar to those of our

¹ This press may now be seen at the rooms of the Bostonian Society, in the Old State House, at Boston.

National House of Representatives ; it could levy taxes, enlist soldiers, build forts, and was to be supreme over matters which concerned all the colonies alike. Then there was to be a president appointed and paid by the crown, and with authority to veto the acts of the Grand Council.

This plan of union has ever since been called the Albany Plan. If the Revolution had not occurred, we should very likely have been living under some such kind of constitution to-day. On the other hand, if the Albany Plan had been adopted in 1754, it is quite possible that there would have been no Revolution. Franklin strongly felt the need of such a Federal Union, and for a while his *Pennsylvania Gazette* appeared with a union device and the motto "Unite or Die."



But not one of the colonies accepted the plan. The people cared little or nothing for union. A native of Massachusetts regarded himself as a Massachusetts man, or a New Englander, or an Englishman ; not as an American, with Pennsylvanians and Virginians for countrymen. So it was with all the colonies ; in all, the feeling of Americanism grew but slowly.

78. The Stamp Act Passed and Repealed. The French War and Pontiac's War proved that some kind of general government that could levy taxes and enlist soldiers was an absolute necessity, and since the people of the colonies would not make such a government, the British undertook to provide one for us. In other words, Parliament undertook to support a small army for the

¹ The initials NE, NY, etc., on the fragments of the snake, beginning at the head, stand for New England, New York, etc.

defense of the colonies, and to raise the needful money by a tax gathered from the people of the colonies. It was thought that the pleasantest and easiest way to raise the money would be through revenue stamps. It did not call for any hateful searching of people's houses and shops, or any unpleasant questions about their incomes, or about their invested or hoarded wealth. It only required that legal documents and commercial instruments should be written, and newspapers printed, on stamped paper. While a stamp tax is thus less annoying than any other kind of tax, it is very effective for raising money, for it is impossible to evade it; it enforces itself. For these reasons, Parliament, in 1765, passed the Stamp Act.

The Stamp
Act passed
by Parlia-
ment.

Such an act was something entirely new and unheard of in American history. In each colony there was an assembly or legislature elected by the people, and this assembly was the only power that could tax the people. In other words, the people could be taxed only by their own representatives. This principle had been established in America from the very beginning; and naturally enough, because it was a principle that had been recognized in England for at least five centuries. In the year 1265, the first House of Commons, called together by the great Simon de Montfort, announced this principle. Kings sometimes violated it, but at their peril. It was in great part for trying to raise taxes illegally that Charles I. was beheaded.



A STAMP.¹

Now the people of the American colonies were not

¹ From *The Memorial History of Boston*, iii. 12.

represented in the British Parliament, and the Stamp Act violated the great principle that the people must not be taxed except by their own representatives. It was a dangerous tax. The Americans did not wish to support a standing army controlled by the crown; under a bad king such an army might be used to destroy their liberties. People in New England could remember Andros; people in Vir-

How this Act was received by the colonists.



SAMUEL ADAMS.¹

ginia could remember Berkeley and his deeds of blood. If there must be a military force over here, the people preferred to raise it in their own way and control it themselves.

When the news of the Stamp Act reached America, the colonial legislatures met and passed resolutions. Two men came to the front, Samuel Adams in Massachusetts, Patrick Henry in Vir-

ginia. The former was one of the ablest political writers, the latter was one of the most brilliant orators, of that age. Both Adams and Henry declared that taxation with-

¹ After a painting by Copley in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

out representation was illegal, and would not be endured. A Congress was held at New York which approved of these resolutions, and sent over to England a remonstrance denying the right of Parliament to tax the Americans. There were riots in several cities. Boxes of stamped paper arriving by ship were seized and burned; lawyers agreed with one another not to treat any document as invalidated by the ab-

PATRICK HENRY.¹

sence of the required stamp; editors published their newspapers decorated with a grinning skull and cross-bones instead of the stamp.

As the Americans would not buy or use the stamps, Parliament repealed the Stamp Act the next year, 1766, after a fierce debate that lasted three months. William Pitt declared that such an act ought never to have been passed, and he praised the Americans for resisting a bad and dangerous law. The majority in Parliament did not take this view; they repealed the law as a concession to the Americans, but declared that Parliament had a right to make whatever laws it pleased. But some men of great influence agreed

Repeal of
the Stamp
Act.

¹ After a painting by Sully.

with Pitt in holding that such a form of taxation without representation was unconstitutional and ought to be resisted.

79. Taxation in England. The people of London were delighted at the repeal of the Stamp Act, and it seemed as if all the trouble were at an end. So it might have been, but for that agreement of opinion between the Americans and Pitt. In getting such a powerful friend in Pitt, the Americans found an implacable enemy in the new king, George III., who had come to the throne in 1760, at the age of twenty-two. There was then going



GEORGE III.¹

on in England a hot dispute over this very same business of "no taxation without representation," and it was a dispute in which the youthful king felt bound to oppose Pitt to the bitter end. Let us see just what the dispute was.

In such a body as the British House of Commons or the American House of Representatives, the different parts of the country are represented according to

population. For example, to-day New York, with over 5,000,000 inhabitants, has thirty-four representatives in Congress, while Delaware, with about 170,000 inhabitants, has only one representative. This is a fair proportion; but as population increases faster in some places than in others, the same proportion is liable to become unfair. To keep it fair it must now and then be

¹ After a print in Entick's *History of the Late War*, 3d ed., London, 1770, vol. iv.

changed. In the United States, every tenth year, after a new census has been taken, we have the seats in the House of Representatives freshly distributed among the States, so that the representation is always kept pretty fair. A hundred men in any one part of the country count for about as much as a hundred men in any other part.

How the representation of the people is kept fair in the United States.

Now in England, when George III. came to the throne, there had been nothing like a redistribution of seats in the House of Commons for more than two hundred years. During that time, some old towns and districts had dwindled in population, and some great cities had lately grown up, such as Manchester and Sheffield. These cities had no representatives in Parliament, which was as absurd and unfair as it would be for a great state like Missouri to have no representatives in Congress. On the other hand, the little towns and thinly peopled districts kept on having just as many representatives as ever. One place, the famous Old Sarum, had members in Parliament long after it had ceased to have any inhabitants at all!

Condition of affairs when George III. came to the throne.

The result was that people who could not get representation in Parliament by fair means got it by foul means. Seats for the little towns and districts were simply bought and sold, and such practices made political life at that time very corrupt. Parliament did not truly represent the people of Great Britain; it represented the group of powerful persons that could buy up enough seats to control a majority of votes.

During the reigns of the first two Georges, this group of powerful persons consisted of the leaders of the party of Old Whigs. They ruled England, and reduced the

power of the crown to insignificance. Their rule was mostly wise and good, but it was partly based on bribery and corruption. The Old Whigs may be called the Aristocratic party. Among their leaders were such great men as Charles Fox and Edmund Burke.

When George III. became king, he was determined to be a real king, to set the Old Whig families at defiance, and to rule Great Britain according to his own notions. In these views the young king was generally supported by the Tories, whom we may call the Royalist party. In order to succeed in their schemes, it was necessary to beat the Old Whigs at their own game, and secure a steady majority in Parliament by methods involving bribery and corruption.

Beside these two parties of Tories and Old Whigs, a third had been for some time growing up. It was called the party of New Whigs. As opposed alike to Royalists and Aristocrats, the New Whigs were the Democrats of that time. Among sundry reforms advocated by them, the most important was the redistribution of seats in the House of Commons. They wished to stop the wholesale corruption, and to make that assembly truly represent the people of Great Britain. The principal leader of this party was William Pitt, who, in 1766, became Earl of Chatham.

We can now see why the antagonism between the king and Pitt was so obstinate and bitter. With a reformed Parliament, the king's schemes would be ruined; their only chance of success lay in keeping the old kind of Parliament with all its corruptions. So when Pitt declared that it was wrong for the people of great cities, like Leeds and Birmingham, who paid their full share of taxes, not to be represented in Parliament, the king felt this to be a very

The king's
bitterness
against Pitt
and his rea-
son for it.

dangerous argument. He felt bound to oppose it by every means in his power.

Now the debates on the Stamp Act showed that the same principle applied to the Americans as to the inhabitants of Birmingham and Leeds. "No taxation without representation," the watchword of Patrick Henry and Samuel Adams, was also the watchword of William Pitt. The king, therefore, felt that in the repeal of the Stamp Act, no matter on what ground, the New Whigs had come altogether too near winning a victory. He could not let the matter rest, but felt it necessary to take it up again, and press it until the Americans should submit to be taxed by Parliament. This quarrel between George III. and the Americans grew into the Revolutionary War. In that struggle, the people of England were not our enemies; we had nowhere better friends than among the citizens of London, and on the floors of the House of Commons and the House of Lords. As a rule, the New Whigs and Old Whigs sympathized with the Americans; of the Tories, some went heartily with the king, while others disapproved his measures, but were unwilling to oppose them. Among the Americans there were a good many Tories, mostly of the latter class.

80. A New Scheme for Taxing America. The quarrel was begun in 1767, when Charles Townshend, chancellor of the exchequer, carried through Parliament a new bill for taxing the Americans. This bill put a duty upon tea, glass, paper, and a few other articles, upon entering American ports. The colonists, said Townshend, had paid port duties before; let them now do so again. But when we observe what use was to be made of the revenue thus collected, we shall see why the Americans were not likely to submit to such duties. Governors, judges, and crown attorneys were to be made independent of the

colonial legislatures by having their salaries paid by the crown out of this money. A small army was also to be kept up; and if any surplus remained, it could be used by the crown in giving pensions to Americans, and thus be made to serve as a corruption fund. These measures would put the whole administration of affairs into the hands of officials responsible only to the crown; and to ask the Americans to submit to them was about as sensible as it would have been to ask them to buy halters and hang themselves.

After getting these measures passed, Townshend suddenly died, and his place was taken by Lord North, who soon afterward became Prime Minister. North was one of those Tories who did not fully



LORD NORTH.¹

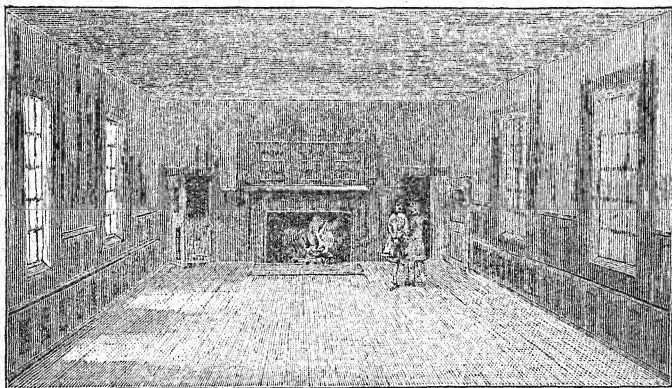
approve the king's conduct, but were unwilling to oppose him in anything. Through his personal influence over Lord North, the king contrived to have his own way from 1768 to 1782, and he must be held responsible for driving the Americans into the Revolution.

The Americans at first met the Townshend acts by forming associations pledged to abstain from importing the dutiable articles. The Massachusetts assembly sent a circular letter to the assemblies of the other colonies, inviting them to concert measures of resistance. This

¹ From the London (1801) edition of *Junius*.

enraged the king, and presently an order came across the ocean to the governor of Massachusetts to demand of the assembly that it rescind its circular letter, under penalty of instant dissolution. The assembly, by a vote of ninety-two to seventeen, refused to rescind, and was turned out of doors. In some other colonies, the assemblies were dissolved for replying favorably to the Massachusetts letter. During the next few years, the royal governors dissolved the assemblies so often as to interfere seriously with public business. In Virginia, the assembly, after being thus dismissed, used sometimes to meet informally as a convention in the large ball room of the Raleigh Tavern at Williamsburg (known as the Apollo

How the
colonists
met the
Town-
shend acts.



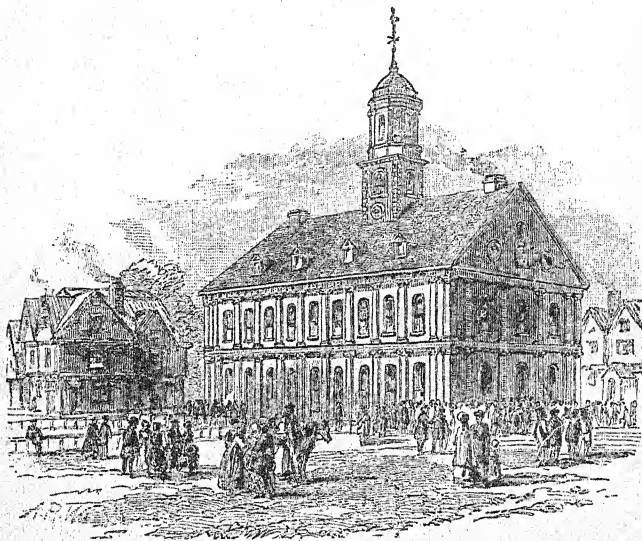
APOLLO ROOM IN THE RALEIGH TAVERN.¹

Room), and there agree upon the course to be pursued. In Massachusetts, when the assembly was dismissed, its work was to some extent carried on by the Boston town meeting in Faneuil Hall, where so many important things were done that it came to be called the Cradle

¹ From the *Magazine of American History*, vol. xi.

of Liberty. In the most exciting times, however, Faneuil Hall was too small to hold the people, and the meeting used to adjourn to the Old South Meeting-house.

In the autumn of 1768, the king sent a couple of



FANEUIL HALL, "THE CRADLE OF LIBERTY."¹

regiments of British regulars to Boston, to assist in enforcing the Townshend acts. This was a rash measure, sure to invite disturbance, and the only wonder is that the disturbance did not come sooner. In March, 1770, after the troops had been nearly a year and a half in the town, there occurred a

¹ It was built in 1740-42, at the expense of Peter Faneuil, a Huguenot merchant of Boston, as a market house for the town. The second story contained the spacious hall which was used for public meetings. The building was enlarged and improved, without altering its style, in 1806.

scrimmage one evening, in which seven soldiers fired into a crowd of townspeople, killing five and wounding several others. Next day there was an immense meeting at the Old South Meeting-house, and Samuel Adams called upon the governor in his council chamber, and, in the name of three thousand freemen, sternly commanded him to remove the soldiers from the town. Before sunset they had all been withdrawn to one of the little islands in the harbor.

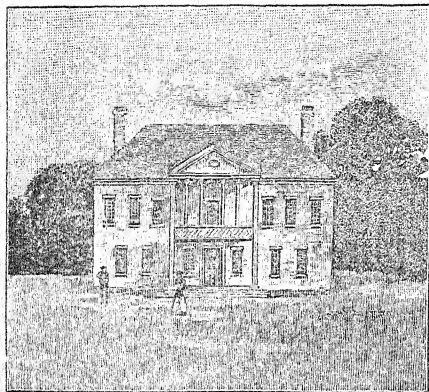
81. The Widening of the Breach. When the news of this rebuff reached the king, it found him rather discouraged. Business in London was suffering because the Americans would not import goods, and, in April, 1770, Parliament took off all the Townshend duties except the duty on tea, which the king insisted upon retaining, in order to avoid surrendering the principle at issue. He was waiting for a chance to "try the question" with America. Meanwhile, there were disturbances in different colonies; in North Carolina, there was an insurrection against the governor, which was suppressed only after a bloody skirmish; in Rhode Island, the revenue schooner *Gaspée* was seized and burned, and when an order came from the ministry requiring the offenders to be sent to England for trial, the chief justice of Rhode Island, Stephen Hopkins, refused to obey the order.

In August, 1772, it was ordered that in Massachusetts the judges should henceforth be paid by the crown. Popular excitement rose to fever heat, and the judges were threatened with impeachment should they dare accept a penny from the royal treasury. Samuel Adams put in operation a scheme by which government could go on in the absence of a legislature. Each town in Massachusetts appointed

Certain
duties
repealed.

"Commit-
tees of
correspon-
dence."

a committee to confer with the committees of other towns. These were called "committees of correspondence." Any single committee, after obtaining the approval of the others, was capable of conducting very important affairs.



CAPITOL AT WILLIAMSBURG, VA.¹

All the committees meeting together would make a "Provincial Congress."

In the next spring, 1773, Virginia carried this work of organizing revolution a long step further, when Dabney Carr provided for

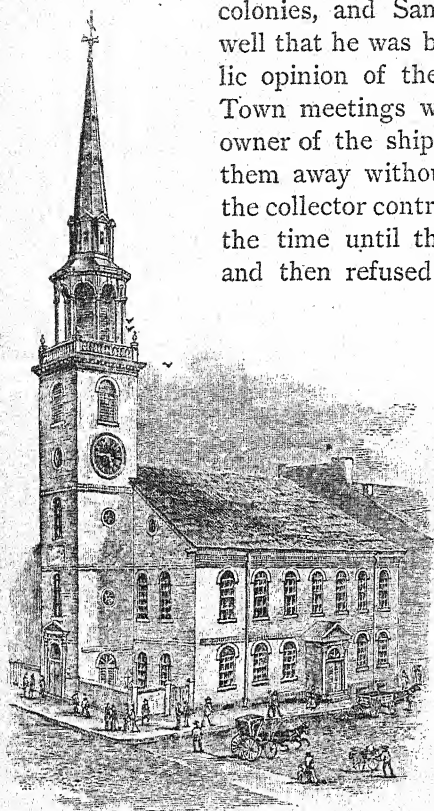
committees of correspondence between the several colonies. From this point it was but a short step to a permanent Continental Congress.

82. The Reception of the Tea Ships. That step was soon to be taken, for, at length, the king had found an opportunity for "trying the question" with America. Thus far, the Americans had successfully resisted him, and got rid of all the duties except on tea. As for tea, they had plenty, but not from England; they smuggled it from Holland in spite of custom houses and search warrants. Clearly, unless they could be made to buy tea from England and pay the duty on it, George III. must own himself defeated. Since it appeared that they could not be forced into doing this, it remained to be seen if they could be tricked into doing it. A truly ingenious scheme was devised. Tea sent by the East

¹ From the *Magazine of American History*, vol. xi.

India Company to America had always paid a duty in some British port on the way. This duty was now taken off, and this made the Company's tea so cheap that the American merchant could buy a pound of it, and pay the threepence duty beside, for less than it cost him to smuggle a pound of tea from Holland. It was supposed that the Americans would, of course, buy the tea which they could get most cheaply, and would thus be beguiled into submission to that principle of taxation which they had hitherto resisted. Ships laden with tea were accordingly sent, in the autumn of 1773, to Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston; and consignees were appointed to receive the tea in each of these towns.

This sending of the tea was not a commercial operation, but simply a political trick. It was George III.'s way of asking the Americans, "What are you going to do about it?" Such an insulting challenge merited the reception which it got. In the three other cities, the consignees of the tea were browbeaten into resigning their commissions, but in Boston they refused to resign, and so it was in Boston that the issue was tried. The chief manager of the affair was Samuel Adams. When the ships arrived, they were anchored under guard of a committee of citizens; if they were not unloaded within twenty days, the custom house officers were empowered by law to seize them and unload them by force; and having once come into port, they could not legally go out to sea without a clearance from the collector or a pass from the governor. The situation was thus a difficult one, but it was grandly met. In an earnest and prayerful spirit, the advice of all the towns in Massachusetts was sought, and the response was unanimous that the tea must on no account whatever be landed. Similar expressions of opinion came from other

THE OLD SOUTH MEETING-HOUSE.¹

it, and there was then but one thing to be done. By sunrise next morning, the revenue officers would board the ships and unload their cargoes, the consignees would go

¹ The first church built upon this spot was a wooden one, finished in 1669. Some of the most notable political meetings in the reign of Charles II. were held in it, and it figured conspicuously in the stormy days of Andros. The present brick building, shown in the picture, was put up in 1729, and is still standing. Since 1879 it has been used as a lecture-room and museum for teaching American history.

colonies, and Samuel Adams knew well that he was backed by the public opinion of the whole continent. Town meetings were held, and the owner of the ships was told to take them away without unloading; but the collector contrived to fritter away the time until the nineteenth day, and then refused a clearance. On

the next day, the 16th of December, 1773, seven thousand people were assembled in town meeting in and around the Old South Meeting-House, while the owner of the ships was sent out to the governor at his country house to ask for a pass. It was nightfall when he returned without

to the custom house and pay the duty, and thus the king's audacious scheme would be crowned with success. The only way to prevent such a wicked result was to rip open the tea chests and spill their contents into the sea, and this was done, according to a preconcerted plan, and without the slightest uproar or disorder, by a small party of men disguised as Indians; among them were some of the best of the townsfolk. This affair has sometimes been thoughtlessly spoken of as a riot, but nothing could have been less like a riot. It was the deliberate act of the commonwealth of Massachusetts, the only available and proper reply to the king's insulting challenge. It was hailed with delight throughout the thirteen colonies, and there is nothing in all our history of which an educated American should feel more proud.

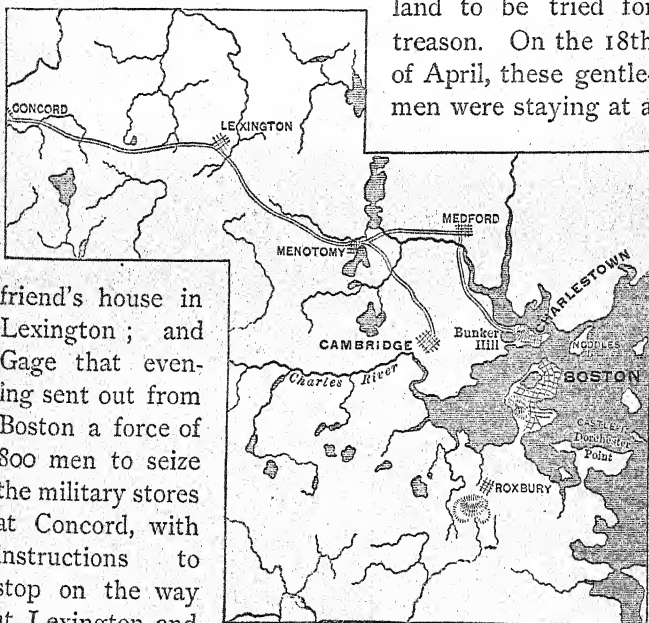
The Boston Tea Party.

83. Lexington and Concord. It was a formal defiance to the king, and was so accepted. In spite of earnest opposition, the king managed to get retaliatory acts passed by Parliament, in April, 1774. One of these acts shut up the port of Boston until the people should be starved and frightened into paying for the tea that had been thrown overboard. By another act, the charter of Massachusetts was annulled, and a military governor appointed with despotic power like Andros. This new governor, Thomas Gage, had for some years been commander of the regular troops in America. He assumed command over Massachusetts on the 1st of June, 1774, but his authority was never recognized. Courts were prevented from sitting, no money was paid into Gage's treasury, and he was in every way ignored.

The king's retaliatory acts.

The other colonies all showed sympathy with Massachusetts, and a Continental Congress met at Philadel-

phia, in September. This Congress drew up a Declaration of Rights, and sent it to the king. The people of Massachusetts formed a Provincial Congress, with John Hancock for its president, and began organizing provincial troops, and collecting military stores at Concord and other inland towns. In April, 1775, Gage received orders to arrest John Hancock and Samuel Adams, and send them over to England to be tried for treason. On the 18th of April, these gentlemen were staying at a



BOSTON AND NEIGHBORHOOD IN 1775.

friend's house in Lexington; and Gage that evening sent out from Boston a force of 800 men to seize the military stores at Concord, with instructions to stop on the way at Lexington and arrest Adams and Hancock. But his plan was detected, and Paul Revere galloped on far in advance of the soldiers, shouting the news at every house that he passed. At sunrise, the soldiers found a party of armed yeomanry drawn up in military array

The Continental Congress.

Lexington and Concord.

on Lexington Common. One of the British officers, Major Pitcairn, ordered them to disperse, and as they remained motionless, the soldiers fired, killing seven men. This event was the beginning of the Revolutionary War.

Before sunset, there was more fighting than the British had bargained for. By the time they reached Concord most of the stores had been removed. In a sharp skirmish the troops were defeated, and as they marched back toward Boston, hundreds of farmers came swarming upon them, firing from behind walls and trees after the Indian fashion. Militia from twenty-three townships joined in the pursuit. The British lost nearly 300 men, and though heavily reinforced, narrowly escaped capture. The alarm spread like wildfire through New England. Within three days, Israel Putnam and Benedict Arnold had come from Connecticut, and John Stark from New Hampshire, and Governor Gage was besieged in Boston by 16,000 yeomanry.

84. The Battle of Bunker Hill. Now that guns had been fired, the Americans were quick to return the offensive. On the 10th of May, the fortresses at Ticonderoga and Crown Point, commanding the line of communication between New York and Canada, were surprised and captured by men from the Green Mountains and Connecticut Valley under Ethan Allen and Seth Warner. On that same day, a second Continental Congress met at Philadelphia, and chose for its president that John Hancock whom the British commander-in-chief was under orders to arrest and send to England. Congress assumed the direction of the force besieging Boston, and called for recruits from Virginia and the middle colonies to strengthen it. Henceforth, it was known as the Continental army,

The
second
Continental
Congress.

and Congress appointed George Washington to command it.

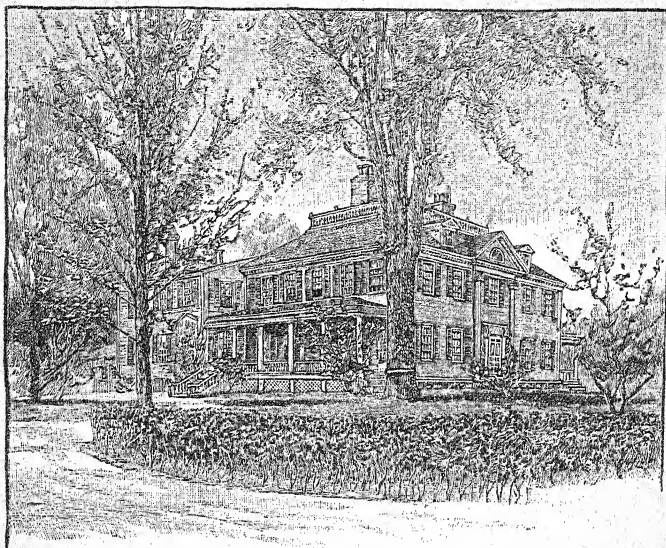
While these things were going on, reinforcements for the British had landed in Boston, making their army 10,000 strong. With these troops came William Howe, who was to supersede Gage in the chief command. The British now prepared to occupy the heights in Charlestown known as Breed's and Bunker's Hills. These heights commanded Boston, so that hostile batteries placed there would make it necessary for the British to evacuate the town. The Americans learned what was going on, and, on the night of June 16, they seized the heights for themselves and began fortifying Breed's Hill. It was an exposed position for the American force, which might easily have been cut off and captured if the British had gone around by sea and occupied Charlestown Neck in the rear. But instead of this, the British prepared to storm the American works. In two desperate assaults, on the afternoon of the 17th, they were repulsed with the loss of one third of their number. The third assault

Defeat of
the Ameri-
cans at
Bunker
Hill.

was successful, but only because the American supply of powder gave out. Among the slain was General Joseph Warren, one of the noblest of American patriots. The slaughter was terrible, considering the small size of the armies. Although the Americans were defeated, the moral effect of the battle was in their favor. For, if the British were to go on encountering such resistance, it was clear that they would come to the end of their resources long before they could subdue the revolted colonies.

Washington arrived in Cambridge on the 2d of July, and had his headquarters for the next nine months in the stately house which was afterward to be the home of the poet Longfellow. On the 3d of July, Washington took command of the

Washing-
ton and the
American
army.

WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS.¹

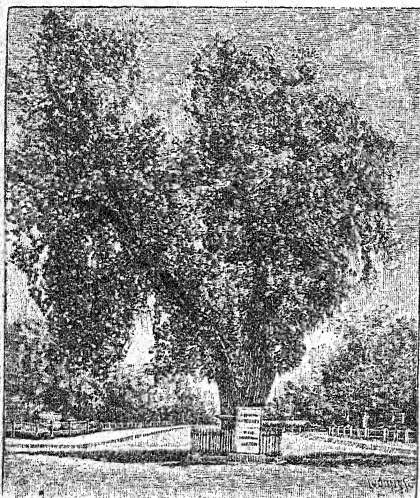
American army. For some time he found enough to occupy him in organizing and disciplining such an army. Meanwhile, Congress sought to avoid further bloodshed

¹ From a recent photograph. This famous house, the finest of the noble colonial mansions on Brattle Street, Cambridge, was built by Colonel John Vassall, in 1759. Early in 1775, Colonel Vassall left it and joined the British in Boston; his estate was then confiscated. General Washington occupied the house from July, 1775, until after the capture of Boston, March, 1776.

In later times, this house has been the home of the historian Jared Sparks, the orator Edward Everett, and the dictionary maker Dr. Worcester. In 1837, it became the home of the poet Longfellow, and it is now (1894) occupied by his eldest daughter. The room at the extreme right of the picture, on the first floor, was Washington's office and Longfellow's study.

My own house, in which this School History has been written, stands upon the same estate, a little to the rear of the extreme left of the picture.

by making one more candid statement of the case in the form of a petition to the king. This paper reached London in August, but the king refused to receive it. His only reply was a proclamation calling for troops to put down the rebellion in America. Finding that Englishmen generally were unwilling to volunteer in a war for that purpose, he hired about 20,000 German troops from the Duke of Brunswick, the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and other petty princes.



WASHINGTON ELM.¹

Nothing went further to enrage the Americans and urge them forward to a declaration of independence than this hiring of foreigners to fight against them.

85. The Invasion of Canada. Congress answered by invading Canada. This was to prevent the

governor of Canada, Sir Guy Carleton, from invading New York. Two lines of invasion were adopted by the Americans. Richard Montgomery, with 2,000 men, descended Lake Champlain and captured Montreal; while Benedict Arnold, with 1,200 men, made a wonderful

¹ From a photograph. The inscription on the stone reads: "Under this tree Washington first took command of the American army, July 3 1775." The tree is believed to be three hundred years old.

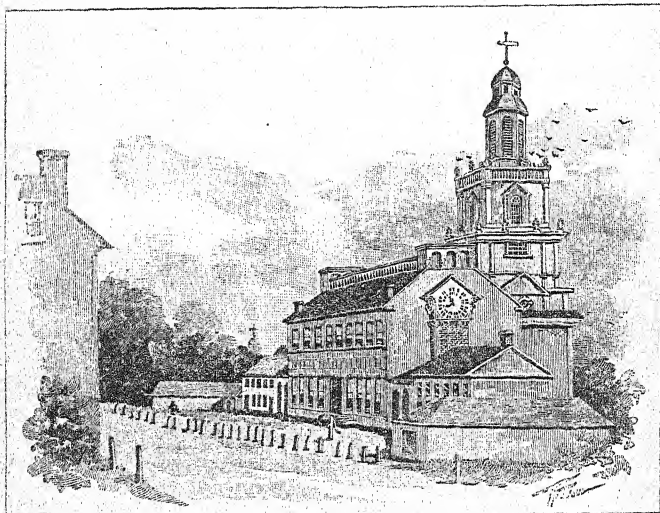
march through the primeval wilderness of Maine and reached Quebec. Presently, the two commanders joined forces, and, on the last night of 1775, made a desperate assault upon Quebec. They forced their way into the town, but Montgomery was killed and Arnold disabled, and the assault was finally repulsed. Reinforcements arrived for Carleton, so that, by June, 1776, the Americans had been driven back out of Canada, and Carleton resumed his preparations for invading New York.

While these things were going on, the British were driven from Boston. In March, General Washington occupied Dorchester Heights, and compelled them to evacuate the town. Howe sailed away to Halifax, where he made ready for an expedition against the city of New York. Late in April, Washington moved to New York and prepared to defend the city.

86. The Declaration of Independence. At the time of the battle of Bunker Hill very few Americans looked forward to any such thing as separation from Great Britain. But as it became more and more clearly impossible to come to any understanding with George III., the sentiment in favor of independence grew rapidly from month to month. In the course of the winter there was fighting in North Carolina between the Tories and the revolutionary party, in which the former were totally defeated. Lord Dunmore, the royal governor of Virginia, was driven out of the state, and the British fleet upon which he took refuge burned the town of Norfolk. Several of the colonies made for themselves new state governments.

At length, in June, the motion was made in Congress "that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states, that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all

political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved." The motion was made by Richard Lee's famous motion in Congress. Henry Lee, of Virginia, and seconded by John Adams, of Massachusetts. It was carried, on July 2, and



STATE HOUSE AT PHILADELPHIA.¹

the Declaration of Independence, written by Thomas Jefferson, was adopted July 4.

The same peal of bells which celebrated the declaration welcomed the news of a victory in the South. Sir Henry Clinton had conducted an expedition against Charleston. But Colonel William Moultrie had built on Sullivan's Island, in the

A victory
in the
South.

¹ This view of the old State House is taken from the *Columbian Magazine*, July, 1787. The building is now known as Independence Hall. It was built in 1729-34. Here the Declaration of Independence was adopted: and here, in 1787, from May to September, sat the Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States.

harbor, a low-lying fortress of palmetto logs; and, on the 28th of June, when the British fleet tried to pass in, it was terribly cut up by the guns of the fortress, which

MOULTRIE.¹

suffered but little in return. The British retired from the scene, and it was more than two years before they made any further attempts upon South Carolina.

TOPICS AND QUESTIONS.

76. CAUSES OF ILL FEELING BETWEEN ENGLAND AND HER COLONIES.

1. What was the European idea of a colony, and of its object?
2. What erroneous notions about trade existed?
3. What was the main object of the laws regulating trade?

¹ From the engraving in Moultrie's own book, *Memoirs of the American Revolution*, New York, 1802, 2 vols.

4. How were the colonists restricted in trade in respect (*a*) to the countries with which trade was permissible, (*b*) to the ships employed, (*c*) to manufacturing, and (*d*) to the traffic in grain?
 5. What happened in spite of these restrictive laws?
 6. What was a writ of assistance, and what its purpose?
 7. What was a special search warrant?
 8. What was a general search warrant?
 9. What was the point to be decided in the case of the writs of assistance?
 10. What was the decision, and what things were done as a result?
77. THE NEED OF A FEDERAL UNION.
1. One great difficulty in carrying on the French wars.
 2. An account of Franklin.
 3. Franklin's Plan of Union.
 4. Speculations about the Albany Plan.
 5. The attitude of the people toward this Plan.
78. THE STAMP ACT PASSED AND REPEALED.
1. The kind of government needed by the colonies.
 2. How Parliament sought to establish such a government.
 3. The nature of a stamp tax.
 4. Why a Stamp Act was a novel measure in colonial history.
 5. The principle of taxation in English history.
 6. Why the colonies regarded the stamp tax as dangerous.
 7. Two men in the front of the opposition to this tax.
 8. How the people treated the Stamp Act.
 9. Its repeal, and the reasons for it.
79. TAXATION IN ENGLAND.
1. How Pitt's friendship for America offended George III.
 2. The representation of the English people in Parliament.
 3. How the representation of the people is kept fair in the United States.
 4. How it became unfair in England.
 5. Corrupt practices favored by this unfairness.
 6. The party of Old Whigs.
 7. The Tories, or the party of George III.
 8. The party of New Whigs, and its aims.
 9. Why George III. was so bitter against Pitt.
 10. The attitude of the king towards taxation in America.
 11. The people of England not our enemies.

80. A NEW SCHEME FOR TAXING AMERICA.

1. The imposition of port duties.
2. The use proposed for the money thus raised.
3. The effect of the new measure upon the colonists.
4. Lord North's relations to the king.
5. How the colonists met the Townshend acts.
6. The circular letter and the king's demand.
7. How the king's demand was treated.
8. The Cradle of Liberty.
9. British regulars to enforce the Townshend acts.
10. Bloodshed, and the withdrawal of the troops.

81. THE WIDENING OF THE BREACH.

1. Certain duties repealed, and the reason.
2. An exception made, and the reason.
3. Disturbances in North Carolina and Rhode Island.
4. The salaries of judges in Massachusetts.
5. Town committees of correspondence.
6. Colonial committees of correspondence.

82. THE RECEPTION OF THE TEA SHIPS.

1. The duty on tea resisted.
2. A scheme to overcome this resistance.
3. The sending of tea ships, in 1773, a political trick.
4. How three cities treated the consignees.
5. The difficulty of the Boston situation.
6. A great town meeting, and the occasion for it.
7. An Indian tea party.
8. The affair not a riot.

83. LEXINGTON AND CONCORD.

1. Two of the king's retaliatory acts.
2. The work of two congresses.
3. Two objects of the expedition to Lexington and Concord.
4. The beginning of the Revolutionary War.
5. The Concord fight, and the retreat.
6. The spreading of the alarm.

84. THE BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL.

1. British fortresses captured.
2. The Continental Congress, and its action.
3. Why the Americans seized Breed's Hill.
4. The battle of Bunker Hill.
5. The moral effect of the battle.
6. The American army and Washington.

7. A final attempt to avoid further bloodshed.
8. The hiring of foreign troops.

85. THE INVASION OF CANADA.

1. What was the object of the invasion?
2. What route was adopted by Montgomery?
3. What route was adopted by Arnold?
4. Describe the assault upon Quebec.
5. What went on meanwhile at Boston?

86. THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

1. Separation from Great Britain at first not expected.
2. Growth of the sentiment for independence.
3. Lee's famous motion in Congress.
4. The Declaration of Independence.
5. A victory in the South.

SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS AND DIRECTIONS.

The figures in parenthesis refer to pages in Fiske's *The American Revolution*, vol. i.

1. What was the feeling of the colonists before the Revolution toward the mother country (2)?
2. Why was it natural for the royal governors to irritate the colonists (2, 3)?
3. What trouble was there in Massachusetts for thirty years over the governor's salary (4)?
4. What was the British idea of union for the colonies (5)?
5. What was the American idea (6)?
6. Why is a stamp act a convenient way of raising money?
7. What stamp act does the United States enforce to-day?
8. Tell how money was raised during our Civil War by a stamp act.
9. When Americans objected to being taxed by England, was it because they feared they might be taxed too heavily (16, 17)?
10. How was Patrick Henry's reputation made (18)?
11. What hand did Patrick Henry have in opposing English tax laws for the colonies (20)?
12. Was the War of the Revolution known by that name during its progress? When did it become proper to use this name? What is an insurrection? A rebellion? A revolution?
13. Describe Paul Revere's ride. Why has it become so famous? Read Longfellow's poem on this theme, and note how far it is true to the facts and spirit of history.

14. What was the special objection to hiring troops like the Hessians? Were these troops to blame for coming to America? Who were most to blame for their coming (160-162)? Read Chatham's protest against their employment.
15. Show the forbearance of the colonists (195, 196).

TOPICS FOR COLLATERAL READING.

From Fiske's *The American Revolution*, vol. i.:

1. Sons of Liberty, 23, 24.
2. The character of George III., 39, 40.
3. The so-called Boston Massacre, 65-72.
4. The famous Boston Tea Party, 82-92.
5. Lord North's five acts for regulating American affairs, 95-97.
6. Lexington and Concord, 120-126.
7. The commander-in-chief of the American army, 133-136.
8. The battle of Bunker Hill, 136-146.
9. The army at Cambridge, and its generals, 147-156.
10. The battle of Fort Moultrie, 198-200.

From Cooke's *Virginia*:

1. Henry, the prophet of revolution, 378-382.
2. His famous resolutions, 384-387.
3. Williamsburg, the heart of the rebellion, 396-399.
4. Virginia and Massachusetts, 415-421.
5. Was it the first blood of the revolution? 422-426.
6. Virginia arming, 427-429.
7. Lord Dunmore and the colony gunpowder, 430-434.
8. Dunmore driven from Virginia, 435-437.

CHAPTER XI.

THE WINNING OF INDEPENDENCE. 1776-1783.

87. Fighting for the Control of the Hudson. The issue was now squarely joined, and must be fought out. The king had pushed things much further than he had originally intended, much further than Lord North approved ; but now no one could expect Great Britain to give up her colonies without a struggle. The Americans also had taken ground from which it was impossible to retreat with self-respect. The Declaration of Independence was felt by every one to be a bold measure. Now that independence was claimed, it remained to be seen whether it could be won.

Here the Americans had one great advantage. They were on the defensive ; the British must either conquer the United States or give up the case. So long as the Americans could keep up their armed resistance, a few British victories would not decide the matter.

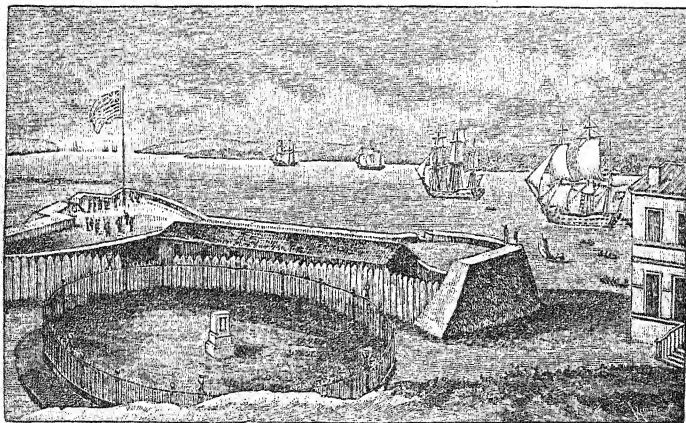
There were two ways in which it might be possible to conquer the United States. The British tried first one way and then the other, and so the war after the Declaration of Independence may be divided into two periods. The first period was rather more than a year and a quarter in length, the second lasted exactly four years.

During the first period, the British tried to conquer and hold the line of the Hudson River. This would be the most direct and speedy way of settling the busi-

ness. The British had full control of the sea, so that it was impossible for American troops to go from one state to another by water. So by holding the Hudson River, the British would cut off all communication between New England and the rest of the country.

The line
of the
Hudson.

There were two ways of attacking the Hudson, from above and from below; the British tried both ways at once. In the autumn of 1776, General Carleton, with his army in boats, under convoy of a stout little fleet, came up Lake Champlain to attack Ticonderoga. On



BATTERY AND BOWLING GREEN IN 1776.¹

October 11, he encountered Benedict Arnold in an obstinate naval fight off Valcour Island. Arnold was worsted, but escaped with his vessels, and Carleton was so badly damaged that he soon turned about and went back to winter quarters at Montreal.

But it was at the mouth of the Hudson River that

¹ From the *Manual of the Common Council of New York*, 1858, where a full description of Bowling Green may be found.

the British struck their heaviest blows. As the city of

The city
of New
York.

New York stands on an island, it was impossible for the Americans to hold it without command of the water. It would, nevertheless, be most unwise to surrender it without a struggle. If you cannot beat the enemy, it is always worth while in war to use up his time and fritter away his energies. No general ever understood this better than Washington. In order to hold the city of New York, it was necessary to hold Brooklyn Heights; there Putnam had 5,000 men behind intrenchments, while 4,000 more, under Sullivan, guarded the roads approaching the Heights from the south. General Howe had 25,000 men en-

camped on Staten Island, and his brother, Lord Howe, with a resistless fleet, commanded all the waters within reach.

On the 27th of August, Howe attacked Sullivan with 20,000 men. With his great superiority of force he was able to surround the Americans and take more than 1,000 prisoners, including General Sullivan. If Howe had at once attacked

the works on Brooklyn Heights, he would probably have met with a bloody defeat; but Bunker Hill had

¹ From Murray's *History of the Present War*, London, 1780, i. 280.



SIR WILLIAM HOWE.¹

taught him a lesson, and he determined to besiege the place instead of assaulting it. When Washington perceived this intention, he withdrew the army, taking it across the East River one dark, foggy night, in such boats and scows as he could collect. This skillful retreat, under the very nose of the enemy, was a wonderful achievement. Howe crossed the river a few days later, occupied the city of New York, and attacked Washington's centre at Harlem Heights, but was defeated. Howe spent the next two months in vainly trying to get Washington to fight in an unfavorable position. In one battle, at White Plains, October 29, the British gained a slight advantage at great cost of life. A little later, November 16, they attacked Fort Washington, on the Hudson River, and took it by storm. The American garrison of 3,000 men were taken prisoners. This disaster was due entirely to disregard of Washington's orders. In spite of it, the Americans were still fairly capable of holding their own against the enemy, when a sudden treachery in their camp came near bringing down ruin upon them.

A skillful
retreat.



LORD HOWE.¹

88. From Hackensack to Morristown. The highest

¹ From Murray's *History of the Present War*, ii. 96.

officer in the army next to Washington was a British adventurer named Charles Lee, who had served in America in the French War, and since then had roamed about Europe doing a little fighting and a good deal of scurrilous writing. About the time that the tea ships were sent to Boston, Lee came over to America to seek his fortune. He talked so much about his military experience that people took him for

CHARLES LEE.¹

a great general. He tried to get Congress to appoint him to the chief command of the army, and was much disgusted at having to serve under Washington. After the capture of Fort Mifflin, in September, 1776, Lee was in command of half the army, about 7,000 men, at Red Bank, on the east side of the Hudson, while Washington, with the other half, was at Lancaster, on the west side. It soon became apparent that Howe intended to move against Philadelphia. Then Washington ordered Lee to cross the river and join him, so that he might face the enemy with his full force of 14,000. Lee disobeyed, and wrote letters to several prominent persons slandering Washington.

¹ From Murray's *History of the Present War*, i. 478.

Lee's disobedience made it necessary for Washington to retreat through New Jersey and cross the Delaware River into Pennsylvania. When everybody considered Washington ruined, Lee marched his own force to Morristown, apparently to conduct a campaign on his own account. But he had scarcely arrived there when a party of British dragoons caught him in his night-gown and slippers, at a tavern outside his army lines, and carried him away a prisoner. He was taken to New



THE CENTRAL FIELD OF WAR, 1776-77.

York and confined in the City Hall. He then turned traitor to the American cause, and gave General Howe all the information in his power, to help him to overcome General Washington. Nobody knew about this treason of Charles Lee till long afterward; the papers which prove it were discovered a few years ago in England, in the private library of Howe's secretary, where they had lain undisturbed for nearly ninety years.

The capture of Lee left Sullivan in command of his

force, and Sullivan marched it hastily to Washington's assistance. Thus reinforced in the nick of time, Washington was able to strike back at the enemy. On Christmas night, he crossed the Delaware with 2,500 men, marched nine miles in a blinding snowstorm, and

surprised and broke the British centre at Trenton, taking 1,000 prisoners. Lord Cornwallis,

who thought the war was over, and had sent his trunks on board ship, intending to return to England, now came in haste to attack Washington, who had brought his full force back into New Jersey. In the early morning of January 3, by a wonderful manœuvre, Washington

marched his army around Cornwallis's flank, crushed his rear in a sharp fight at Princeton, and then planted himself upon the heights of Morristown.

This position, by threatening the British line of supplies, kept them from crossing New Jersey to take Philadelphia, and for the next five months they stayed quietly in New York.

The result of the fighting and manœuvring from Long Island to Morristown showed the world that the Americans were commanded by military genius of the highest order. The French were beginning to think it

might be worth their while to help us, and thus get revenged upon the British for the last war. One brilliant young Frenchman, not yet twenty years old, the Marquis



LORD CORNWALLIS.¹

¹ From the *London Magazine*, June, 1781.

de Lafayette, could not wait for his own government to act, but fitted up a ship at his own expense, and, coming to America, offered his services to Congress as a volunteer without pay. Other European officers who rendered eminent services to the American cause were the German Kalb and the two noble Poles, Kosciuszko and Pulaski.

89. The Second Attempt to Conquer New York. The British plan, for the summer of 1777, was to move with three armies at once, as follows: (1) A force of about 9,000 men was to come down



MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.¹

from Canada by way of Lake Champlain, and move upon Albany; the command of this movement was intrusted to General John Burgoyne, an excellent gentleman, who, but for his misfortunes, would have been remembered as a playwright rather than as a soldier. (2) A force of about 2,000 men, under Colonel Barry St. Leger, was to ascend the St. Lawrence to Lake Ontario, then land at Oswego, and come down the Mohawk valley. Sir William Johnson had lately died, but his son, Sir John Johnson, had great influence with the Six Nations. The object of St. Leger's expedition was to enlist the aid of these Tories and Indians,

The three
British
armies.

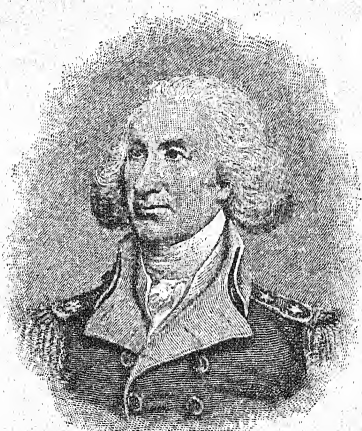
¹ From *Étrennes Nationales*, 1790.

JOHN BURGOYNE.¹

always depend upon his ships for supplies. But for Burgoyne and St. Leger it was a very dangerous business, because they were required to plunge through the depths of the wilderness with the risk of having their supplies cut off. After Burgoyne should pass Fort Edward on the Hudson, he was sure to be in extreme peril until he should meet Howe with the force from below. But the British underestimated the danger

crush out all opposition, and move on to unite with Burgoyne. (3) A force of not less than 18,000 men, under Howe, was to move up the Hudson River and unite with Burgoyne. Should Washington follow, the concentrated British force might be expected to crush him.

In this plan, Howe's task was comparatively safe, because he could

PHILIP SCHUYLER.²

¹ From Stone's *Campaign of Lieut.-Gen. John Burgoyne*.

² From the *Life of Hamilton*, by J. C. Hamilton.

On the 5th of July, Burgoyne compelled the Americans to evacuate Ticonderoga, and two days later a detachment of his army defeated them in a severe battle at Hubbardton. These misfortunes caused great alarm throughout the country, but as Burgoyne advanced toward Fort Edward his difficulties began. The Americans were commanded by Philip Schuyler, a skillful general and one of the noblest of patriots. By felling trees and otherwise obstructing the enemy's march, Schuyler so delayed him that he did not reach Fort Edward till the end of July. By that time, several hundred New England yeomanry were collected in the Green Mountains with the village of Bennington as a depot of supplies. Bur-

Battle of
Benning-
ton.



goyne sent out a force of 1,000 men to capture these supplies. The force consisted chiefly of Germans, utterly ignorant of the country as well as of American methods of warfare. On the 16th of August, they were entrapped, surrounded, and captured by the sagacious Colonel John Stark. About 200 Germans were killed and wounded, about 70 returned to Burgoyne, and

John Stark¹

¹ After a silhouette given in Rev. Albert Tyler's *Bennington, the Battle, 1777; Centennial Celebration, 1877*.



*Jos. Brandt*¹

all the rest were taken prisoners, with all their guns and stores. The American loss was 14 killed and 42 wounded. This brilliant victory prepared the Americans to send forces into Burgoyne's rear and cut off his communications with Lake Champlain.

90. St. Leger's Army in the Forest. Meanwhile, St. Leger's little army was having

strange and wild adventures in the primeval forest. In what is now Oneida County, near the site of Rome, there was a stronghold called Fort Stanwix. St. Leger, advancing from Oswego, laid siege to this fort, on the 3d of August. On the 6th, a force of 800 militia, led by General Nicholas Herkimer, was marching to relieve the

¹ After a picture belonging to the Earl of Warwick, painted by G. Romney. The spelling Brandt is incorrect. His Indian name, as he wrote it, was Thayendanegea, pronounced Tă-yen-dă-naw'-ga. He was the most remarkable Indian known in history. He was a full-blood Mohawk, not a half-breed as is sometimes incorrectly said. He was well educated, a devout member of the Episcopal Church, and translated the Prayer Book and parts of the New Testament into the Mohawk language. The combination of missionary and war-chief in him was quite curious.

fort, when, in a deep ravine near Oriskany, they fell into an ambush prepared by the great Mohawk chieftain, Joseph Brant. The battle which ensued was the fiercest and most obstinate battle in the Revolutionary War. Each side could claim the victory. Herkimer, mortally wounded, drove the enemy away, but was obliged to retreat from the scene. That same day, the garrison at Fort Stanwix made a sortie and sacked a part of St. Leger's camp, capturing five British flags. They hoisted these flags upside down over their fort and raised above them a rude flag made of scraps of a blue jacket and a white shirt with some bits of red flannel. Congress had in June adopted the national banner of stars and stripes, and this was the first time it was ever hoisted.

Battle of
Oriskany.

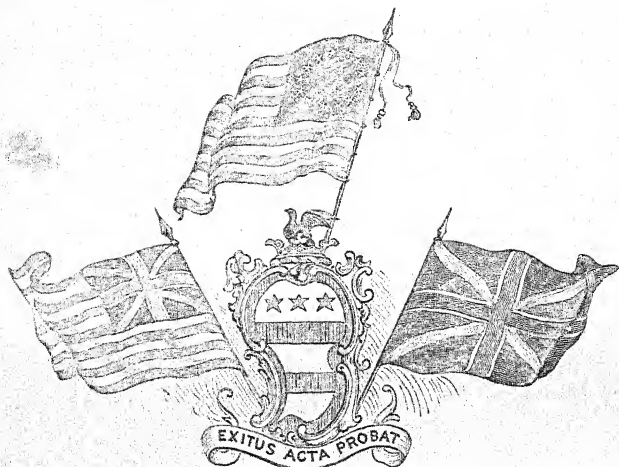
The
national
banner.

When the news of Oriskany reached General Schuyler, he sent Arnold with 1,200 men to relieve Fort Stanwix. Arnold caused reports to be sent ahead of him that Burgoyne was totally defeated, and that a great American force was coming against St. Leger. On August 22, these rumors produced a panic in the British camp, and St. Leger hastily retreated to Lake Ontario. This was a heavy blow to Burgoyne. All his hopes of aid from the Tories of the Mohawk valley were completely frustrated, while Schuyler's force in front of him was daily increased by fresh bands of armed yeomanry.

Some New England delegates in Congress cherished a mean grudge against Schuyler, and succeeded in removing him from command and putting Horatio Gates in his place. Gates was a vain and silly person, with no military ability; but when he took command, August 19, Burgoyne's fate was already almost settled. His communications with Canada were

Horatio
Gates.

about to be cut by the Vermont forces, and then nothing could save him except a British army coming up the Hudson River.



EVOLUTION OF THE AMERICAN FLAG.¹

¹ The flag on the right is the British union jack, a combination of the English red cross of St. George with the Scottish white cross of St. Andrew, upon a blue ground. The British ensign is a plain red flag with this union jack in the corner.

The flag on the left is the one used by General Washington, at Cambridge, in January, 1776, and for a year or more afterward. It is like the British ensign except that thirteen red and white stripes are substituted for the solid red of the former.

The flag at the top was adopted by Congress in June, 1777. A union of thirteen white stars in a circle on a blue ground is substituted for the British union. The present American flag differs from this in the number of stars; one has been added for each new state, so that there are now forty-four.

Below this flag are shown the arms of the Washington family, with three red stars and two red bars on a white ground, and a Latin motto which means "The event justifies the deed." It has been supposed by some writers that the idea of the stars and stripes in the American flag was derived from this coat-of-arms; but there seems to be no evidence in support of this opinion.

almost succeeded, but victory was turned into defeat by a sudden panic among the Americans, caused by a sad accident: it was a foggy morning, and one American battalion fired into another by mistake.

92. The Surrender of Burgoyne. Washington made so much trouble for Howe that the latter had to get more troops from New York, and so it was impossible to send any help to Burgoyne. At length, a new force of 3,000 men, arriving from England, was sent up the Hudson River on the same day that the battle of Germantown was fought. It was too late to save Burgoyne. On September 13, that general had crossed the Hudson; on the 19th, he tried to turn the American position at Bemis Heights, but Arnold attacked him at Freeman's Farm near by, and a desperate but indecisive battle was fought there. Two days later, Burgoyne's communications with Lake Champlain were cut, and soon his men were suffering from hunger. On the 7th of October, he risked another battle, and was totally defeated by Arnold, whose leg was broken by a musket ball in the moment of victory. In neither of these two battles did Gates take any real part. Burgoyne retreated upon Saratoga, where he found himself surrounded, and, on the 17th, he surrendered what was left of his army, nearly 6,000 men, to General Gates.

93. The Results of Burgoyne's Surrender. The surrender of Burgoyne had immense results. Lord North insisted upon conciliating the Americans and yielding every point to them except independence. People in England insisted upon having Lord Chatham for prime minister, and the king would probably have been compelled to take him, but Chatham suddenly died. Whether he could have succeeded in renewing the friendly union between Great Britain

Efforts for
peace.

and America is doubtful. Certainly no other Englishman was equal to such a task. Lord North sent commissioners to America to negotiate a treaty of peace. But meanwhile, for more than a year, Benjamin Franklin had been busy at the French court, soliciting aid and alliance; and now, as soon as France felt that there was any danger of a reconciliation between Great Britain and America, she recognized the independence of the United States, and presently sent a fleet to help us. The treaty was signed February 6, 1778, and in it the Americans bound themselves to accept no terms of peace until Great Britain should recognize the independence of the United States.

The
French
Alliance.

This French alliance was the beginning of European complications which ended in bringing Spain and Holland into the war against George III., but its immediate results in America were not remarkable. In the spring of 1778, great hopes were entertained. The winter, which Washington's army spent at Valley Forge, had been one of privation and suffering. There had been an intrigue against Washington on the part of several officers and politicians who tried to hurt his feelings and goad him into resigning his command, in which case they intended to put the weak-minded Gates in his place. This conspiracy, known from the name of one of the plotters as the "Conway Cabal," was exposed in such a way as to make them all ridiculous and to strengthen people's confidence in Washington.

94. Cessation of Active Operations in the North. In the spring, Howe went home to England, and Sir Henry Clinton succeeded him. Hearing of the approach of the French fleet, Clinton evacuated Philadel-

phia and retired to New York. Washington pursued him across New Jersey. His army had been thoroughly drilled at Valley Forge by the Baron von Steuben, a very able Prussian officer who had come over to help us. With this improved army, Washington overtook the enemy at Monmouth and ordered an attack. But,

Battle of
Mon-
mouth.

unfortunately, the mischief-maker, Charles Lee, had been exchanged, and had returned to his command just in time to make more mischief. He spoiled Washington's plan by making a

shameful and disorderly retreat just at the critical moment. For this he was tried by court-martial; at first he was suspended from command, then expelled from the army.



BARON VON STEUBEN.¹

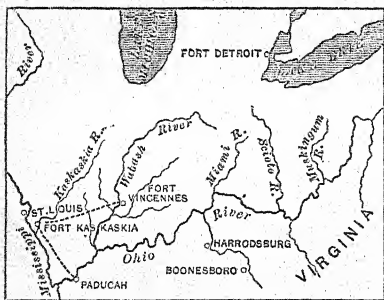
When the French fleet arrived, Washington hoped to be able to take the city of New York, but some of the ships drew too much water to cross the bar, so this scheme had to be abandoned. The only other place occupied by a large British force was Newport, and the fleet accompanied Sullivan's land forces in an unsuccessful attempt to capture Newport. Little more was done in the northern states between the regular armies. In the summer of 1779, Clinton sent marauding expeditions into Connecticut in order

¹ From Du Simitière's *Thirteen Portraits*, London, 1783.

to draw Washington's attention away from the Hudson River. But Washington, who always did what the enemy did not expect, protected Connecticut by storming the British works at Stony Point. The assault, which was one of the most brilliant in military history, was conducted by Anthony Wayne. The loss of this fort made Clinton call back his marauders without delay.

ANTHONY WAYNE.¹

95. Conflicts on the Frontier and at Sea. In the years 1778 and 1779, there was constant warfare with Tories and Indians on the frontier. In July, 1778, these enemies spread death and desolation through the beautiful valley of Wyoming, in Pennsylvania. Many other atrocities were committed,



CAMPAIGN OF GEORGE ROGERS CLARK.

and the next year an army under Sullivan invaded the country of the Six Nations, defeated the Tories and Indians with great slaughter, and burned more than forty villages. The Six Nations never recovered from this blow.

In the Southwest, the famous hunter, Daniel Boone, had begun the settlement of Kentucky, while James Rob-

¹ From the *National Portrait Gallery*, vol. i.

ertson was moving into Tennessee, and there was much fighting with the tribes in those parts. In 1778, Colonel Hamilton, the British commander at Detroit, tried to stir up all the western

Frontier troubles.



PAUL JONES.¹

tribes to a concerted attack upon the frontier. A young Virginian, George Rogers Clark, hearing of this, undertook to carry the war into the enemy's country. In two romantic and masterly campaigns, in 1778-79, he defeated and captured Hamilton at Vincennes, and ended by conquering and holding the whole country north of the Ohio River, from the Alleghanies to the Mississippi.

The year 1779 was also famous for the exploits of our bold naval captain, Paul Jones, who burned the shipping in British ports, sailed into the Frith of Forth and threatened Edinburgh, and finally captured two British war vessels off Flamborough Head, in one of the most desperate sea fights on record.

96. The Second Way of Conquering the Country. In this last period of the war, after Burgoyne's surrender, the British tried a new way of conquering the United States. Instead of aiming at the centre, they went down to the extreme South, and tried cutting off one state after another. They conquered Georgia and reinstated the royal governor there. In the autumn of

¹ After the medal struck in his honor by the United States Congress, to commemorate his victory over the Serapis.

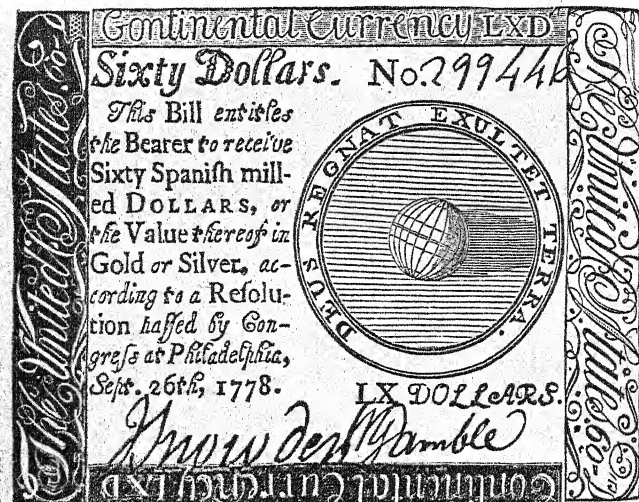
1779, General Lincoln, aided by the French fleet, tried to recapture Savannah, but was defeated with great slaughter. The next spring, Sir Henry Clinton conducted an expedition against Charleston, and captured the city with Lincoln and his whole army. After this terrible blow, Clinton returned to New York, leaving Lord Cornwallis in command, and South Carolina was soon overcome by the British. With great exertions a new American army was collected in North Carolina, but the command of it, unfortunately, was given to Gates, and, on the 16th of August, Cornwallis nearly destroyed it at Camden. It was, perhaps, the worst defeat ever inflicted upon an American army. After this, the only resistance to the British in South Carolina was carried on by the brave partisan leaders, such as Marion, Sumter, and Pickens. Irregular warfare of a cruel sort went on between Whigs and Tories, and robbery and murder were frequent.

97. The Gloomiest Time of the War. This summer of 1780 was the gloomiest time in the whole course of the war. Because Congress could not tax the people, and could not get enough money from the states by asking for it, there was great difficulty in carrying on the war. Some money was borrowed from France and Holland, but Congress was also obliged to issue its notes, or promises to pay. Such notes, when issued by

FRANCIS MARION.¹

¹ From Headley's *Washington and his Generals*, vol. ii.

a government, are commonly called paper money. So long as government redeems them in gold they are as good as money. If government "suspends," or postpones, giving gold for them on demand, their value falls; that is, a man will give more for a gold dollar than a paper dollar. If people believe that government will be able to redeem its notes, their value falls but slightly; if they cease to have such confidence, the value falls terribly. Such fluctuations in the value of currency are very destructive to business, and always produce poverty and misery. It is probable that during

CONTINENTAL MONEY.¹

the Revolutionary War more damage was done by the paper currency than by all other causes put together. In the summer of 1780, it became worthless. It took

¹ Facsimile, full size, of a note now in the possession of Harvard University Library.

\$150 in Continental currency to buy a bushel of corn, and an ordinary suit of clothes cost \$2,000. Then people refused to take it; they preferred to take their pay in sheep or plows, in jugs of rum, or kegs of salt pork, or whatever they could get. It thus became almost impossible to pay soldiers, or to clothe and feed them properly and supply them with powder and ball. There were times when, except for the wonderful ability of the financier, Robert Morris, the war could not have been carried on.

98. The Treason of Arnold. Benedict Arnold had for some time felt himself ill treated by Congress. He was one of our bravest and ablest generals, but his moral nature was weak. In 1778, having been put in command of Philadelphia, he married a Tory lady, and his political sympathies began to change. He got into difficulties and was sentenced to be reprimanded (January, 1780). Revengeful feelings led him to entertain a scheme for



BENEDICT ARNOLD.¹

giving up the Hudson River to the enemy. In July, 1780, he asked Washington for the command of the great fortress at West Point, and obtained it. Then he made arrangements for surrendering it to Sir Henry Clinton. In September, the British adjutant-general, Major John André, had an interview

The West
Point plot.

¹ From Arnold's *Life of Arnold*.

MAJOR ANDRÉ.¹

with Arnold near Stony Point. On his way back to New York, André was stopped and searched by three yeomen near Tarrytown, and, as suspicious looking papers in Arnold's handwriting were found in his stockings, they arrested him for a spy. These papers revealed the plot. Arnold received information in time to escape and fly to the British in New York. André was tried by

a military commission and hanged.

99. Victories in the South. The old adage that "it is always darkest just before dawn" was now illustrated. Only five days after the execution of André, there was a great American victory at the South. A force of 1,100 British and Tories penetrated too far into the mountains, and were met by a swarm of backwoodsmen. In the battle of King's Mountain, October 7, all

GENERAL GREENE.²

¹ From a portrait by himself.

² After a photograph of a painting.

the British who were not killed or wounded were taken prisoners. This was the beginning of a series of victories. A new army was raised for the South, and put under command of Nathanael Greene, a general scarcely second to Washington himself.

Nathanael
Greene.

Under Greene were three Virginians of great ability, — Daniel Morgan ; William Washington, a distant cousin of the commander-in-chief ; and Henry Lee, familiarly known as "Light-horse Harry," father of the famous Confederate general, Robert Edward Lee.

The most famous British commander of light-armed troops was Banastre Tarleton. On the 17th of January, 1781, in the battle of the Cowpens, Tarleton was defeated by Morgan. It was a wonderful piece of tactics. With only 900 men, in open field Morgan surrounded and nearly annihilated a superior force. The British lost 230 in killed and wounded, 600 prisoners, and all their guns. Tarleton escaped with 270 men. The Americans lost twelve killed and sixty-one wounded.

This was the prelude to a game of strategy in which Greene led Cornwallis on a chase across North Carolina, and gave



DANIEL MORGAN.¹

him battle at Guilford, on March 15. At nightfall, the British held the field, but were so badly cut up that they presently withdrew into Virginia, while Greene returned to South Carolina. His next

A game of
strategy.

¹ After a sketch by Trumbull.

two battles—Hobkirk's Hill, April 25, and Eutaw Springs, September 8—were not victories, but in each case he gained the object for which the battle was fought. Between those two dates he had cleared the British out of South Carolina, except in Charleston, where they remained shut up under cover of their ships.



SOUTHERN CAMPAIGNS IN THE REVOLUTION.

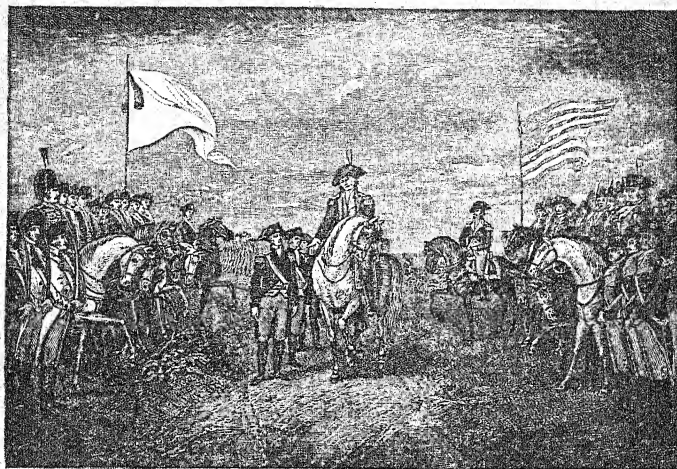
100. The Surrender of Cornwallis. Cornwallis, in Virginia, was reinforced, and had a little campaign against Lafayette. At the end of July, Cornwallis was at Yorktown with 7,000 men. Up to this time the British had always been safe at the water's edge, because they controlled the sea. Now all this was to

be changed by the arrival of a great French fleet commanded by Count de Grasse. In August, Washington learned that he could have the aid of this fleet on the

Virginia coast, and at once he moved with 6,000 men (4,000 of them Frenchmen under Count Rochambeau) from the Hudson River

Washington's skillful plan.

to Chesapeake Bay. It was a swift and skillful movement. Clinton did not suspect its purpose till Washington was beyond Philadelphia. Then he made a weak attempt at a diversion by sending the traitor Arnold

THE SURRENDER OF LORD CORNWALLIS.¹

to burn New London. That wretched performance was of no use. Washington went straight at his mark, and, by the last of September, had 16,000 men in front of Cornwallis at Yorktown, while the great French fleet closed in behind and prevented escape. On the 19th of October, the British army surrendered.

TOPICS AND QUESTIONS.

87. FIGHTING FOR THE CONTROL OF THE HUDSON.

1. Why could neither party to the war now retreat?
2. What advantage did the Americans have?
3. Why did the British seek to control the Hudson?
4. What attack did they make on the Hudson from above?
5. Why did Washington try to hold New York city?
6. What measures did he adopt to do so?
7. What did the British do to dislodge him?
8. Describe Washington's retreat.

¹ From a painting by Trumbull in the Capitol at Washington.

9. What further attempts did Howe make to defeat Washington?
10. What disaster occurred at Fort Washington?
88. FROM HACKENSACK TO MORRISTOWN.
 1. An account of Charles Lee.
 2. Lee's disobedience of Washington's orders.
 3. His capture and treason.
 4. The surprise of the British at Trenton.
 5. Cornwallis out-manœuvred at Princeton.
 6. The strong position at Morristown.
 7. What the campaign showed to the world.
 8. Aid from Lafayette.
89. THE SECOND ATTEMPT TO CONQUER NEW YORK.
 1. The plan of Burgoyne's army.
 2. The plan of St. Leger's army.
 3. The plan of Howe's army.
 4. The comparative risks of these plans.
 5. Burgoyne's success at first.
 6. The growing difficulties of Burgoyne's situation.
 7. The American victory at Bennington.
90. ST. LEGER'S ARMY IN THE FOREST.
 1. The siege of Fort Stanwix.
 2. The Mohawk ambush at Oriskany.
 3. The stars and stripes at Fort Stanwix.
 4. The relief of the besieged Americans.
 5. Gates substituted for Schuyler.
91. AID FOR BURGOYNE PREVENTED BY WASHINGTON.
 1. Howe's scheme about Philadelphia.
 2. The scheme delayed by Washington.
 3. The battle of the Brandywine.
 4. The battle of Germantown.
92. THE SURRENDER OF BURGOYNE.
 1. Aid for Burgoyne too late.
 2. The battle of Freeman's Farm.
 3. The second battle of Freeman's Farm.
 4. The surrender.
93. THE RESULTS OF BURGOYNE'S SURRENDER.
 1. Efforts for peace in England.
 2. The French alliance.
 3. The winter at Valley Forge.
 4. The "Conway Cabal."

94. CESSATION OF ACTIVE OPERATIONS IN THE NORTH.

1. The evacuation of Philadelphia.
2. The drill at Valley Forge.
3. Lee at Monmouth.
4. Unsuccessful attempts with the French fleet.
5. The storming of Stony Point, and its object.

95. CONFLICTS ON THE FRONTIER AND AT SEA.

1. The valley of Wyoming desolated.
2. Sullivan's invasion of the country of the Six Nations.
3. Kentucky and Tennessee.
4. Clark's campaigns, and their object.
5. Paul Jones in British waters.

96. THE SECOND WAY OF CONQUERING THE COUNTRY.

1. The nature of this second way.
2. The campaign in Georgia.
3. The capture of Charleston and of Lincoln's army.
4. A new army and its fate at Camden.
5. Partisan warfare in South Carolina.

97. THE GLOOMIEST TIME OF THE WAR.

1. Why was it hard for Congress to get money?
2. What was the nature of the paper money issued?
3. When is such money good?
4. When does it fall in value?
5. Speak of the damage it did in the Revolutionary War.
6. Illustrate its worthlessness in 1780.

98. THE TREASON OF ARNOLD.

1. Some causes for his change of feeling.
2. His plot to surrender West Point.
3. The plot discovered.
4. What befell Arnold and André.

99. VICTORIES IN THE SOUTH.

1. The battle of King's Mountain.
2. Greene and his generals.
3. Tarleton's defeat at the Cowpens.
4. Greene's campaign, and what it accomplished.

100. THE SURRENDER OF CORNWALLIS.

1. Cornwallis at Yorktown.
2. The British no longer safe at the water's edge.
3. Washington's skillful movement.
4. Clinton's diversion.
5. The siege and the surrender.

SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS AND DIRECTIONS.

1. Read the Declaration of Independence, and consider the following questions and suggestions:
 - a. Why was the Declaration made?
 - b. It says all men are created equal. Is this true?
 - c. What unalienable rights does it claim for all men? Why are such rights called unalienable? Is it consistent for people to claim such rights, and, at the same time, to thrust men into prison or to hang them?
 - d. From what source are the powers of government said to be derived? Has everybody really given his consent to the government exercised over him? Do minorities living under laws and rulers not acceptable to them give such consent as the Declaration mentions?
 - e. Mention some of the charges made against the king of England. It is a valuable exercise to support some of these charges by facts of history, with places, dates, and circumstances.
 - f. What pledge did the signers make? Did they keep their pledges?
2. What was the evidence of Charles Lee's treason? (See Fiske's *The American Revolution*, i. 301-303.)
3. Describe some of the effects in England of Burgoyne's surrender. (See Fiske's *The American Revolution*, ii.)
 - a. The consternation and differences of opinion that prevailed, 4-7.
 - b. Lord North's political summersault, 7-9.
 - c. The alliance of France with the United States, 9-11.
 - d. Chatham the only hope of England, 12-22.
 - e. Efforts for peace unavailing, 22-24.
4. In the chapter entitled "War on the Ocean," Fiske's *The American Revolution*, ii., find answers to the following questions:
 - a. What right of search did the British claim?
 - b. What defense of this right did the British urge?
 - c. What is meant by the doctrine that free ships make free goods?
 - d. How came this doctrine to triumph at last?
 - e. Show how wise the doctrine is.
5. How many stars and stripes belong to our national banner to-day? What changes has the banner undergone since its

- adoption? What is a national flag for? What is the use of having it float over the schoolhouses of the land?
6. Why did Benedict Arnold turn traitor? Was he a traitor from the British point of view before he became one from the American?
 7. Was André's execution justifiable?
 8. What proofs of greatness did Washington give during the Revolution?

TOPICS FOR COLLATERAL READING.

From Fiske's *The American Revolution*, i.:

- * 1. Burgoyne in the wilderness, 268-274.
2. Jenny McCrea and Burgoyne's Indian allies, 275-280.
3. An army of regulars annihilated by farmers, 280-285.
4. The terrible battle of Oriskany, 285-292.
5. How one man put an army to flight, 293-296.
6. Burgoyne's army after the surrender, 336-344.

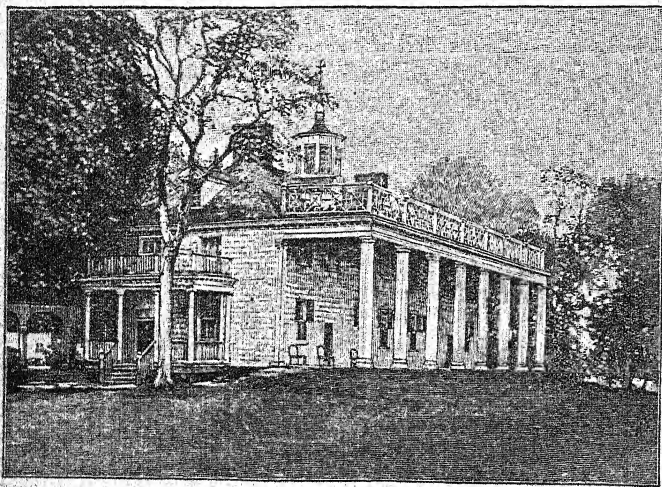
From Fiske's *The American Revolution*, ii.:

1. Sufferings of the troops at Valley Forge, 28, 29.
2. Steuben as a drillmaster, 53-56.
3. Lee's treachery at Monmouth, 59-71.
4. A remarkable Mohawk, 82-85.
5. The massacre at Wyoming, 85-89.
6. The wilderness beyond the Alleghanies, 94-96.
7. Clark's conquest of the northwestern territory, 104-108.
8. Paul Jones and the Bon Homme Richard, 121-130.
9. Sumter and Marion, 183, 184.
10. Evils of the paper currency, 197-200.
11. The treason of Arnold, and its exposure, 215-239.
12. The sad condition of the army in 1780, 239-243.
13. The victory of King's Mountain, 244-248.
14. Greene's superb strategy, 250-268.
15. Washington's audacious scheme, 273-278.
16. The end at Yorktown, 278-283.
17. The news in the United States and England, 285, 286.

CHAPTER XII.

THE CRITICAL PERIOD. 1783-1789.

101. Drifting toward Anarchy. When Lord North, at his office in London, heard the dismal news from Virginia, he walked up and down the room, wringing his hands and crying, "O God, it is all over!" Yorktown was indeed decisive. In the course of the winter the



MOUNT VERNON.

British lost Georgia. The embers of Indian warfare still smouldered on the border, but the great Treaty of Paris. War for Independence was really at an end. The treaty of peace was finally signed at Paris, Septem-

ber 3, 1783. On November 25, the British troops sailed away from New York, and Washington resigned his commission and went home to Mount Vernon in time to spend Christmas there.

By the treaty — which was negotiated on our part by Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and John Adams — the independent United States extended from the Atlantic coast to the Mississippi River. Florida (which then included parts of Alabama and Mississippi) was given back by Great Britain to Spain; and Spain continued to hold the Louisiana territory.

Peace was far from bringing safety and contentment to the United States. The same difficulty which had led to the Revolutionary War — want of a national government — still existed. During the war, the thirteen states had agreed upon a kind of constitution which they called Articles of Confederation, but they were afraid of conferring too much power upon Congress, lest it should encroach upon the state governments and swallow them up. So no power of taxation was given to Congress, and, as it had no money, it was hard for it to preserve either dignity or authority. For want of pay the army became troublesome. In January, 1781, there had been a mutiny of Pennsylvania and New Jersey troops which at one moment looked very serious. In the spring of 1782, some of the officers, disgusted with the want of efficiency in the government, seem to have entertained a scheme for making Washington king: but Washington met the suggestion with a stern rebuke. In March, 1783, inflammatory appeals were made to the officers at the headquarters of the army at Newburgh. It seems to have been intended that the army should overawe Congress, and seize upon the government until

Weakness
of Con-
gress.

Troubles
with the
army,
1781-83.

the delinquent states should contribute the money needed for satisfying the soldiers and other public creditors. An eloquent speech from Washington prevailed upon the officers to reject and condemn this scheme.

On the 19th of April, 1783, the eighth anniversary of Lexington, the cessation of hostilities was formally proclaimed, and the soldiers were allowed to go home on furloughs. The army was virtually disbanded. There were some who thought that this ought not to be done while the British forces still remained in New York ; but Congress was afraid of the army and quite ready to see it scattered. On the 21st of June, Congress was driven from Philadelphia by a small band of drunken soldiers clamorous for pay. It was impossible for Congress to get money. Of the Continental taxes assessed in 1783, only one fifth part had been paid by the middle of 1785. After peace was made, France had no longer any end to gain by lending us money, and European bankers, as well as European governments, regarded American credit as dead.

There was a double provision of the treaty which could not be carried out because of the weakness of Congress. It had been agreed that Congress should request the state governments to repeal various laws which they had made from time to time, confiscating the property of Tories and hindering the collection of private debts due from American to British merchants. Congress did make such a request, but it was not heeded. The laws hindering the payment of debts were not repealed ; and as for the Tories, they were so badly treated that between 1783 and 1785 more than 100,000 left the country. Those from the southern states went mostly to Florida and the Bahamas ; those from the north made the

Congress
unable to
fulfil the
treaty.

beginnings of the Canadian states of Ontario and New Brunswick. A good many of them were reimbursed for their losses by Parliament.

When the British government saw that these provisions of the treaty were not fulfilled, it retaliated by refusing to withdraw its troops from the northern and western frontier posts. The British army sailed from Charleston on the 14th of December, 1782, and from New York on the 25th of November, 1783; but in contravention of the treaty small garrisons remained at Ogdensburgh, Oswego, Niagara, Erie, Sandusky, Detroit, and Mackinaw until the 1st of June, 1796.

Great Britain retaliates, presuming upon the weakness of the feeling of union among the states.

Besides this, laws were passed which bore very severely upon American commerce, and the Americans found it impossible to retaliate because the different states would not agree upon any commercial policy in common. On the other hand, the states began making commercial war upon each other, with navigation laws and high tariffs. Such laws were passed by New York to interfere with the trade of Connecticut, and the merchants of the latter state began to hold meetings and pass resolutions forbidding all trade whatever with New York.

The old quarrels about territory were kept up, and in 1784 the troubles in the Wyoming valley and in the Green Mountains came to the very verge of civil war. People in Europe, hearing of such things, believed that the Union would soon fall to pieces and become the prey of foreign powers. It was disorder and calamity of this sort that such men as Hutchinson had feared, in case the control of Great Britain over the colonies should cease. George III. looked upon it all with satisfaction, and believed that before long the states would

one after another become repentant and beg to be taken back into the British empire.

The troubles reached their climax in 1786. Because there seemed to be no other way of getting money, the different states began to issue their promissory notes, and then tried to compel people by law to receive such notes as money.

The craze
for paper
money, and
the Shays
rebellion,
1786.

There was a strong "paper money" party in all the states except Connecticut and Delaware. The most serious trouble was in Rhode Island and Massachusetts. In both states the farmers had been much impoverished by the war. Many farms were mortgaged, and now and then one was sold to satisfy creditors. The farmers accordingly clamored for paper money, but the merchants in towns like Boston or Providence, understanding more about commerce, were opposed to any such miserable makeshifts. In Rhode Island the farmers prevailed. Paper money was issued, and harsh laws were passed against all who should refuse to take it at its face value. The merchants refused, and in the towns nearly all business was stopped during the summer of 1786.

In the Massachusetts legislature the paper money party was defeated. There was a great outcry among the farmers against merchants and lawyers, and some were heard to maintain that the time had come for wiping out all debts. In August, 1786, the malcontents rose in rebellion, headed by one Daniel Shays, who had been a captain in the Continental army. They began by trying to prevent the courts from sitting, and went on to burn barns, plunder houses, and attack the arsenal at Springfield. The state troops were called out under General Lincoln, two or three skirmishes were fought, in which a few lives were lost, and at length, in February, 1787, the insurrection was suppressed.

At that time the mouth of the Mississippi River and the country on its western bank belonged to Spain. Kentucky and Tennessee were rapidly becoming settled by people from Virginia and North Carolina, and these settlers wished to trade with New Orleans. The Spanish government was unfriendly and wished to prevent such traffic. The people of New England felt little interest in the southwestern country or the Mississippi River, but were very anxious to make a commercial treaty with Spain. The government of Spain refused to make such a treaty except on condition that American vessels should not be allowed to descend the Mississippi River below the mouth of the Yazoo. When Congress seemed on the point of yielding to this demand, the southern states were very angry. The New England states were equally angry at what they called the obstinacy of the South, and threats of secession were heard on both sides.

102. How the Federal Constitution Came to be Framed. Perhaps the only thing that kept the Union from falling to pieces in 1786 was the Northwestern Territory, which George Rogers Clark had conquered in 1779, and which skilful diplomacy had enabled us to keep when the treaty was drawn up in 1782. Virginia claimed this territory and actually held it, but New York, Massachusetts, and Connecticut also had claims upon it. It was the idea of Maryland that such a vast region ought not to be added to any one state, or divided between two or three of the states, but ought to be the common property of the Union. Maryland had refused to ratify the Articles of Confederation until the four states that claimed the northwestern territory should yield their claims to the United States. This was done

The Mississippi question, 1786.

The northwestern territory; the first national domain, 1780-87.

between 1780 and 1785, and thus for the first time the United States government was put in possession of valuable property which could be made to yield an income and pay debts. This piece of property was about the first thing in which all the American people were alike interested, after they had won their independence. It could be opened to immigration and made to pay the whole cost of the war and much more. During these troubled years Congress was busy with plans for organizing this territory, which at length resulted in the famous Ordinance of 1787, laying down fundamental laws for the government of what has since developed into the five great states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin. While other questions tended to break up the Union, the questions that arose in connection with this work tended to hold it together.

The need for easy means of communication between the old Atlantic states and this new country behind the mountains led to schemes which ripened in course of time into the construction of the Chesapeake and Ohio and the Erie canals. In discussing such schemes, Maryland and Virginia found it necessary to agree upon some kind of commercial policy to be pursued by both states. Then it was thought best to seize the occasion for calling a general convention of the states to decide

The convention at Annapolis, Sept. 11, 1786.

upon a uniform system of regulations for commerce. This convention was held at Annapolis in September, 1786, but only five states had sent delegates, and so the convention adjourned after adopting an address written by Alexander Hamilton, calling for another convention to meet at Philadelphia on the second Monday of the following May, "to devise such further provisions as shall appear necessary

to render the constitution of the Federal government adequate to the exigencies of the Union."

The Shays rebellion and the quarrel about the Mississippi River had by this time alarmed people so that it began to be generally admitted that the Federal government must be in some way strengthened. If there were any doubt as to this, it was removed by the action of New York. An amendment to the Articles of Confederation had been proposed, giving Congress the power of levying customs-duties and appointing the collectors. By the summer of 1786, all the states except New York had consented to do this. But in order to amend the articles, unanimous consent was necessary, and in February, 1787, New York's refusal defeated the amendment. Congress was thus left without any immediate means of raising a revenue, and it became quite clear that something must be done without delay.

The famous Federal Convention met at Philadelphia in May, 1787, and remained in session four months, with Washington presiding. Its work was the framing of the government under which we are now living, and in which the evils of the old confederation have been avoided. The trouble had all the while been how to get the whole American people *represented* in some body that could thus rightfully *tax* the whole American people. This was the question which the Albany Congress had tried to settle in 1754, and which the Federal Convention did settle in 1787.

The Federal Convention at Philadelphia, May-Sept., 1787.

In the old confederation, starting with the Continental Congress in 1774, the government was all vested in a single body which represented states, but did not represent individual persons. It was for that reason

that it was called a congress rather than a parliament.



HAMILTON.¹

It was more like a congress of European states than the legislative body of a nation, such as the English Parliament was. It had no executive and no judiciary. It could not tax, and it could not enforce its decrees.

The new constitution changed all this by creating the House of Representatives, which stood in the same rela-

tion to the whole American people as the legislative assembly of each single state to the people of that state. In this body the people were represented, and could therefore tax themselves. At the same time in the Senate the old equality between the states was preserved. All control over commerce, currency, and finance

was lodged in this new Congress, and absolute free trade was established between the states. In the office of President a strong executive was created. And besides all this, there was a system of Federal courts for deciding questions arising under Federal laws. Most remarkable of all, in some respects, was the power given to the Federal Supreme Court, of deciding, in special cases, whether laws passed by the several states, or by Congress itself, were conformable to the Federal Constitution.

¹ After a crayon by J. Baker.



JEFFERSON.²

² After a painting by Stuart.

Many men of great and various powers played impor-

MARSHALL.¹

tant parts in effecting this change of government, which at length established the American Union in such a form that it could endure; but the three who stood foremost in the work were George Washington, James Madison, and Alexander Hamilton. Two other men, whose most important work came somewhat later, must be mentioned along with these, for the sake of completeness. It was John Marshall, chief justice of the United States from 1801 to 1835, whose profound decisions did more than those of any later judge could ever do toward establishing the sense in which the Constitution must be understood. It was Thomas Jefferson, president of the United States from 1801 to 1809, whose sound democratic instincts and robust political philosophy prevented the Federal government from becoming too closely allied with the interests of particular classes, and helped to make it what it should be, — a “government of the people, by the people, and for the people.”

MADISON.²

¹ After a painting by Rembrandt Peale, in the rooms of the Long Island Historical Society.

² After a painting by C. W. Peale, in the rooms of the Long Island Historical Society.

In the *making* of the government under which we live, these five names — Washington, Madison, Hamilton, Jefferson, and Marshall — stand before all others. I mention them here chronologically, in the order of the times at which their influence was felt at its maximum.

When the work of the Federal Convention was sanctioned by the Continental Congress and laid before the people of the several states, to be ratified by special conventions in each state, there was earnest and sometimes bitter discussion. Many people feared that the new government would soon degenerate into a tyranny. But the century and a half of American history that had already elapsed had afforded such noble political training for the people that the discussion was, on the whole, more reasonable and more fruitful than any that had ever before been undertaken by so many men. The result was the adoption of the Federal Constitution, followed by the inauguration of George Washington, on the balcony of the Federal Building, in Wall Street, New York, April 30, 1789, as President of the United States. For a short time the city of New York was the seat of the government.

Thus, the Middle Period of American history, which began, in 1689, with the struggle between France and England for the possession of North America, came to an end, in 1789, with the birth of an independent English-speaking nation.

TOPICS AND QUESTIONS.

101. DRIFTING TOWARD ANARCHY.

1. Lord North's receipt of the news from Virginia.
2. Remaining events of the war.
3. The treaty of peace:
 - a. By whom negotiated on our part.

- b.* When signed.
 - c.* Its terms with respect to territory.
 - 4. Continuance of the old difficulty about government.
 - 5. Discontent in the army and its cause.
 - 6. A scheme to make Washington king.
 - 7. The disbanding of the army.
 - 8. Reasons for and against this disbanding.
 - 9. Provisions of the treaty not carried out :
 - a.* Confiscation of property.
 - b.* Collection of debts.
 - 10. Treatment of the Tories.
 - 11. British retaliation :
 - a.* Through nonwithdrawal of troops.
 - b.* Through adverse commercial legislation.
 - 12. Why American retaliation was difficult.
 - 13. Commercial war among the states.
 - 14. Quarrels among the states about territory.
 - 15. European opinion about the drift of things.
 - 16. The craze for paper money :
 - a.* Promissory notes.
 - b.* Why the farmers wanted paper money.
 - c.* The triumph of the farmers in Rhode Island.
 - d.* The Shays rebellion in Massachusetts.
 - 17. The Mississippi question :
 - a.* Trade with New Orleans.
 - b.* Commerce with Spain.
 - c.* The attitude of the Spanish government.
 - d.* The stirring up of angry feelings.
- 102. HOW THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION CAME TO BE FRAMED.
 - 1. The Northwestern Territory as a bond of union :
 - a.* How the United States came to own it.
 - b.* Why such ownership proved a blessing.
 - c.* The Ordinance of 1787.
 - 2. How the Federal Convention came to be called :
 - a.* The occasion for calling a commercial convention.
 - b.* This convention and its outcome.
 - c.* Effect of the Shays rebellion on popular thought about the government.
 - d.* How certain action by New York strengthened this thought.

3. The Federal Convention :
 - a. Its session.
 - b. Its great work.
 - c. The Continental Congress unlike a parliament.
 - d. Provisions of the new Constitution relating (1) to the legislative department, (2) to the executive department, and (3) to the judicial department.
4. Men prominent in changing the government :
 - a. The three foremost men.
 - b. The contribution of John Marshall.
 - c. The contribution of Thomas Jefferson.
5. The ratification of the Federal Constitution.
6. The Middle Period of American history.

SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS AND DIRECTIONS.

1. Give an account of Hutchinson (page 249), and tell what views he held about the relations of the colonists to the mother country (see Fiske's *American Revolution*, vol. i. 62, 63).
2. Review the history and work of the first Continental Congress.
3. Review the history and work of the second Continental Congress.
4. Was there a third Continental Congress?
5. Compare the organization of our present Congress with that of the Continental Congress.
6. Compare the powers of our present Congress with those of the Continental Congress.
7. Is the Congress of the United States to-day a lineal descendant of the Continental Congress? Give reasons for your answer.
8. Why was it necessary to substitute a new constitution for the old Articles of Confederation?
9. Why were people so reluctant to establish a strong government to succeed that of the Continental Congress?
10. How was this reluctance finally overcome?
11. What is despotism? What is anarchy? Which of these two conditions did the people fear the more? What signs of each were discernible or thought to be discernible at the close of the war?
12. Compare the Articles of Confederation with our present

Constitution in the provisions made by each for the following matters : —

a. Legislative authority.

b. Executive authority.

c. Judicial authority.

13. Compare the Articles of Confederation with our present Constitution in respect to the following : —

a. Money-raising power.

b. Army-and-navy raising power.

14. Mention several things that our present Congress legally does which the Continental Congress had no power to do.

15. Is there any power or authority higher than that of the Constitution? If so, what is it? Are the constitutions of the various states controlled in any way by that of the United States? If so, show in what general way. Mention some things among us that are controlled by United States laws, some by state laws, and some by town or city laws. Is it allowable for these three classes of laws to conflict with one another?

16. Find authority in the Constitution for various things that Congress has done, such as the following :

a. It has established a military academy at West Point.

b. It has given public lands to Pacific railroads.

c. It has authorized uniforms for letter carriers.

d. It has ordered surveys of the coast.

e. It has established the Yellowstone National Park.

f. It has voted millions of dollars for pensions.

g. It refused during the Civil War to pay its promises with silver or gold.

h. It bought Alaska of Russia.

i. It has adopted exclusive measures towards the Chinese.

17. Cite clauses of the Constitution, and tell what particular things Congress has done because of such authority. For example, what specific things have been done under the following powers of Congress?

a. To collect taxes.

b. To regulate commerce with foreign nations.

c. To coin money.

d. To establish post-roads.

e. To provide for the common defence.

f. To provide for the general welfare.

TOPICS FOR COLLATERAL READING.

The following topics for collateral reading are intended primarily for the teacher and the more mature and intelligent pupils. They are selected from Fiske's *The Critical Period of American History*;—a work that deals with events from the close of the American Revolution, in 1783, down to the inauguration of Washington, in 1789, as the first president of the United States under the new Constitution.

1. THE THIRTEEN COMMONWEALTHS.

- a. Washington's farewell to the army, 51-53.
- b. The legacy of his advice, 54.
- c. Love of union then and to-day, 55-59.
- d. Local jealousies and primitive savagery, 62.
- e. The states and the nation in the Revolution, 63-65.

2. THE LEAGUE OF FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE STATES.

- a. The Continental Congress, 90-98.
- b. Its three fatal defects, 99-101.
- c. Military weakness of the government, 101-103.
- d. Money weakness of the government, 104-112.
- e. Hamilton and the Tories, 124-130.

3. DRIFTING TOWARD ANARCHY.

- a. Barbarous ideas about trade, 134-137.
- b. Commercial war between the states, 145-147.
- c. Almost a war between Connecticut and Pennsylvania, 147-151.
- d. Almost another about Vermont, 151-153.
- e. The Barbary pirates, 157-161.
- f. The craze for paper money, 168-177.
- g. An insurrection in Massachusetts, 177-186.

4. THE GERMS OF NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY.

- a. Rival claims to a great folkland, 187-191.
- b. The triumph of Maryland's grand idea, 191-194.
- c. Virginia's magnanimity, 195.
- d. The backwoodsmen's short-lived state, 199-201.
- e. The famous Ordinance of 1787, 203-207.
- f. The leading men in the Federal Convention, 222-229.

5. THE GREAT DISCUSSIONS OF THE FEDERAL CONVENTION, 230-305.

6. THE CROWNING OF THE CONVENTION'S MIGHTY WORK, 306-350.

THE FEDERAL UNION.

1789-1894.

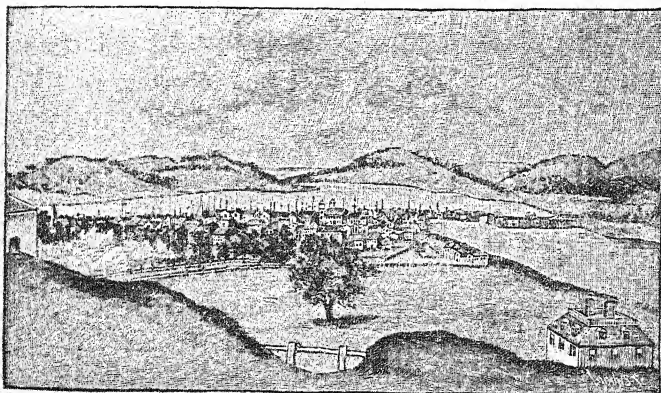
CHAPTER XIII.

THE PERIOD OF WEAKNESS. 1789-1815.

103. The Country and the People. The nation over which George Washington was called to preside, in 1789, was a third-rate power. It was, for example, ^{A third-rate power.} decidedly inferior in population and wealth to the Belgium of to-day, and about on a level with Denmark or Portugal. The population, numbering scarcely four millions, was thinly scattered through the region east of the Alleghanies, beyond which mountain barrier there were about 100,000 in Tennessee and Kentucky, and the town of Marietta, in Ohio, had just been founded. East of the mountains, the red man had ceased to be dangerous, but tales of Indian massacre still came from places no more remote than Ohio and Georgia. The occupations of the people were simple. There were few manufactures. In the coast towns of the northern states there were many merchants, seamen, and fishermen, but most of the people were farmers who lived on what they raised upon their own estates. People seldom undertook long journeys, and mails were not very regular. It took a week to go from Boston to New York in a stagecoach, and all large rivers, such as the Connecticut, had to be crossed in boats, as none of them had bridges. Hence, the differ-

ent parts of the country knew very little about each other, and entertained absurd prejudices ; and, the sentiment of union between the states was very weak.

The change in the modes of living since the first settlement of the country was very slight compared with the changes that have taken place since 1800. There were no large cities. Philadelphia, in 1790, had a population of about 42,000 (rather less than Springfield, Mass., in 1890). Next came New York, with 33,000; then Boston, with 18,000; and Baltimore, with 13,000. Such towns had not yet lost the rural look. In Boston,



BOSTON IN 1790.¹

for example, the streets were unpaved, and the side-
 City life walks unflagged. The better houses were usually built of brick, with little flower gardens in front, or lawns dotted with shrubbery. The furniture, silver, and china in them were mostly imported from

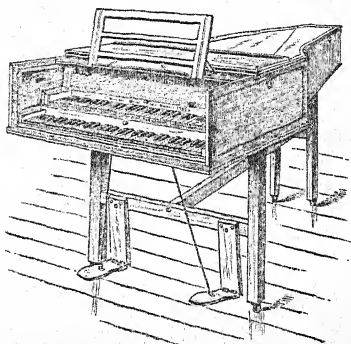
¹ Facsimile of a print in the *Massachusetts Magazine*, November, 1790. The point of view is in Governor Hancock's grounds; the common, with the great elm, is in the middle distance, the south part of the town, with the Neck, is beyond, and in the further parts are Dorchester Heights.

HANCOCK HOUSE.¹

England, but some fine pieces of furniture were made at Dedham near by. There was no heating by furnaces or steam pipes, but there were large fireplaces with brass andirons holding stout logs of wood. A tall clock usually stood in the corner, and fairly good pictures, including portraits by Copley and historic scenes by Trumbull, hung upon the walls. Of books there were very few by American authors. Milton and Bunyan, Pope and Young, the Spectator, the Letters of Junius, and Rollin's Ancient History were the books oftenest seen lying about. The people who lived in

¹ This noble stone house, on Beacon Hill, was built in 1737, by Thomas Hancock, upon whose death, in 1764, it became the property of his nephew, John Hancock. In 1859, the Legislature of Massachusetts was urged to buy and preserve it. This attempt failed, and, in 1863, the estate was sold by the heirs, and the house was presently pulled down.

those houses were dressed exactly like gentlemen and ladies in England. Social life consisted largely in going out to dinner or tea, or in going to church. In the larger towns there were balls with dancing. Instead of the modern piano there were spinets and harpsichords, — small instruments somewhat like a piano, with thin metallic tones. Very little was known about music. Theatres were just beginning to be established in spite of furious opposition. Actors in Boston



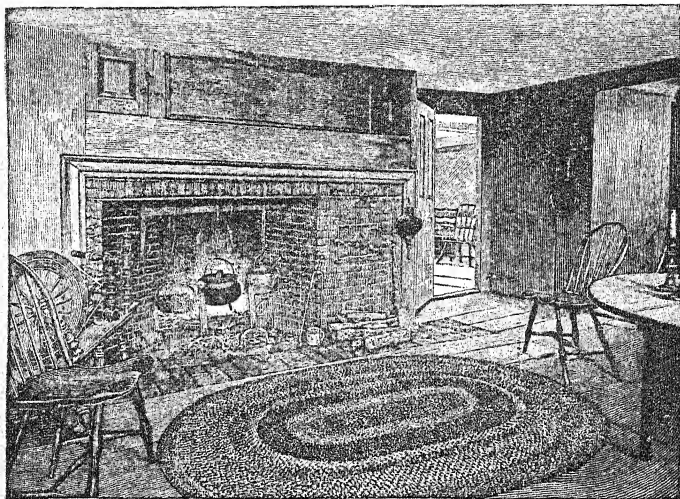
A HARPSICHORD.

tried to evade the law by calling plays "moral lectures," but the trick did not succeed; one evening in December, 1792, a performance of the *School for Scandal* was stopped at the end of the second act by the sheriff, who threatened to arrest all the actors.

In the country there were large and handsome houses, many of which are still standing, built of wood, with very solid frames, finished inside with elaborate paneling, and furnished as well as the best city houses. The ordinary farmer lived in a smaller house, often with only a single floor and a garret. In the centre rose an immense brick chimney with an oven in it for baking bread, or pies, or beans. Besides the bedrooms there was a "best room," or parlor, opened only for weddings, funerals, Thanksgiving Day, or other rare occasions. There were the polished candlesticks, the family portraits, the few cherished books. But the pleasantest part of the house was the kitchen with its

Country
life.

great fireplace and swinging crane and high-backed settle, its bunches of herbs and apples or onions hanging from the ceiling, its spinning wheel, busy in the evening, its corner cupboard bright with pewter mugs and dishes, and its cosy table to which buckwheat cakes



AN OLD-FASHIONED KITCHEN.¹

could be handed from the griddle without having time to cool. Here was served the midday dinner of salted pork, beef, or fish, with potatoes and brown bread. Of the fine succulent vegetables, so wholesome and now so common, the farmer in those days knew little. Ice was not stored for use; water was drawn fresh from the deep

¹ The above picture of a New England kitchen is copied by permission from a photograph of the kitchen in the Whittier homestead at East Haverhill, Mass., so graphically described in Whittier's exquisite poem, *Snow-Bound*. The room on the right, opening from the kitchen, is the chamber in which the poet was born. The house is now under the care of a Whittier Memorial Association, and is open to the public.

well, and down in that same cool, dark place, the butter was hung in a pail and brought up at meal time dainty and toothsome.

In New England, wheeled vehicles were coming into use as the roads were improved ; but people in the rural districts still went chiefly on horseback, and the women were still commonly carried to church on pillions. In the South, almost all travel was on horseback, or else by boat on the large rivers. People went about so little that even in a town so large as Philadelphia, where Congress for so many years assembled, the sight of a stranger on the streets was apt to arouse curiosity, and an American who had crossed the Atlantic was sure to be pointed out, with the exclamation, " There's a man that has been to Europe ! "

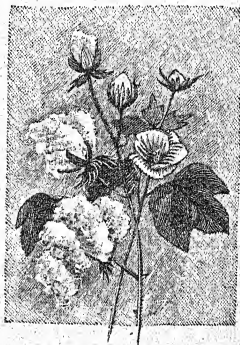
Washington's Administrations.

Federalist : 1789-1797.

104. Elements of Progress. This country, which seemed so insignificant beside the great powers of Europe, contained within itself the germs of such an industrial and political expansion as the world never saw before. The

Sources of wealth.

natural sources of wealth in North America—its soil, its timber, its mines—were so vast, the opportunities for earning a living were so many, as to create a steady demand for labor, far greater than any ordinary increase of population could supply. The steam-engine had lately been invented, and was being applied in England to machinery



A COTTON PLANT.

for spinning and weaving. This was the beginning of the age of machinery and of countless inventions for increasing man's power of production. Soon the advantage of all this was felt in the United States more than in any other part of the world, and people came flocking here from other countries because there was plenty for them to do.

To secure such advantages, it was necessary that the Federal government should be strong enough to preserve peace at home, and to make itself respected



A COTTON FIELD.

abroad ; for neither business nor pleasure thrives amid anarchy or in a country that cannot defend itself. It was equally necessary that local self-government should be maintained in every part of the Union ; otherwise, people would lose their liberties, and life would become less attractive. After a century, we can truly say that, in spite of one great Civil War and some minor contests, our Federal Con-

Local self-
govern-
ment.

stitution has kept the American Union in such profound peace as was hardly ever seen before in any part of the earth since men began to live upon its surface. At the same time, local self-government has not been seriously interfered with, and the just rights of the states have, on the whole, been duly respected.

105. Hamilton and the Assumption of Debts. This great success has been largely due to the fact that under President Washington a sound and correct start was made. The money question was most pressing. Since the old Continental Congress had been unable to pay its debts, American credit was dead. In 1784, Amsterdam bankers refused to lend so small a sum as \$300,000 on the pledge of the United States to repay it. Washington's secretary of the treasury was Alexander Hamilton, one of the greatest statesmen this country has ever known. He was wonderfully successful in finance. As Daniel Webster afterward said of him, "He touched the dead corpse of public credit, and it sprang upon its feet." Hamilton understood that it is impossible to keep one's credit without paying one's debts. He therefore proposed that the government should accurately compute all the debts of the Continental Congress, both foreign and domestic, and pay the whole amount in full, with interest. This point he carried. Then he proposed something that surprised everybody and alarmed many; he proposed that the debts of the separate states should be assumed and paid by the Federal government. In this there was profound wisdom. Most of the creditors to whom the states owed money were American citizens. If the United States were to assume the state debts, all these creditors would at once become creditors of the United States, and all would be eager to

Alexander
Hamilton.

have the Federal government get an ample revenue and be enabled to pay its creditors. This would result in building up a party directly interested in strengthening the Federal Government. Another of Hamilton's proposals, with the same end in view, was the establishment of a great bank, in which the national government should be a shareholder and partly a director.

But some people objected to these measures, and said that the Constitution nowhere gives to Congress the right to charter such a bank, nor does it grant the right to raise money by taxation in order to pay debts owed by a state.

To this objection Hamilton had an answer ready. There is a clause in the Constitution (article I., section viii., clause 18) which gives to Congress the right "to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution . . . the powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States." This ought to be called the Elastic Clause of the Constitution, because it can be stretched so as to cover things it was not meant to cover, and it is always important to know how far it will do to stretch it. Hamilton said that his measures were needed to set the new government fairly on its feet. His opponents, led by Thomas Jefferson, said that the plea of necessity is a tyrant's plea; that if you were to give Congress an inch it would take an ell; and that the Elastic Clause would be a source of danger unless construed very strictly and made to cover as few things as possible.

In this way arose the first great division between political parties under the Constitution. The Hamiltonians gave a loose or liberal construction to the Elastic Clause in order to make

The Elastic Clause.

Division into parties.

the new government strong. The Jeffersonians gave a strict or narrow construction to that clause because they were afraid the new government would grow too strong and become tyrannical.

Before the time of which we are speaking, the North was as afraid of a strong Federal government as the South. But in the northern states there were many more merchants and capitalists who had lent money to the states, and nearly all these people supported Hamilton. On the other hand, the southern planters were afraid of having the government managed too much by capitalists, and so they generally supported Jefferson. Thus, the love for a strong Federal Union began to grow much faster at the North than at the South.

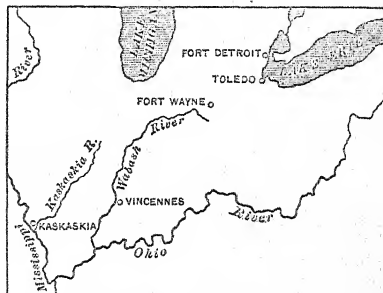
The site for a Federal capital was to be selected. Northern people wanted to have it as far north as the Delaware River, in order to have it more under northern influence. Southern people wanted to have it as far south as the Potomac. The dispute over this question and the dispute over assumption both raged fiercely. A bargain was made in which each side gave up one thing in order to get the other. Congress assumed all the state debts, and the city of Washington was built on the bank of the Potomac.

106. The Tariff; War with the Indians. The assumption of state debts was a master-stroke of policy in strengthening the Union. Now, in order to pay all these old debts, state and national, Congress must have a revenue; and it must have a revenue in order to pay the current expenses of government. How was this money to be got? People were terribly afraid of having their taxes increased. A direct tax would perhaps have been resisted. But there is a kind of indirect tax which a great many people scarcely notice

The Federal capital.

Indirect taxation.

or feel. By putting a tariff on goods imported from foreign countries, large sums of money can be raised without people realizing that they are paying a tax. By a very moderate tariff, Hamilton obtained at once revenue enough to carry on the government and provide for the payment of all the debts. He also recommended that the tariff be used to encourage native manufactures as well as to obtain revenue. He saw that manufactures were likely to spring up, and that it would be well to interest manufacturers in favor of a strong government. Southern people wanted tariffs kept as low as possible, and said that the Constitution gave Congress no power to raise money by tariff for any other purpose than revenue.



SCENE OF INDIAN WAR, 1790-95.

Hamilton's prudence in avoiding direct taxation was shown in one case where he departed from his rule. On whiskey he laid a small tax, and the distillers of the Alleghany region refused to pay it. In western Pennsylvania, in 1794, there was something like a rebellion, but President Washington called out 15,000 troops, and the insurgents were convinced by that sort of argument without a battle.

In those days, as before and since, the red men gave the army plenty to do. The western frontier was then near the Wabash River. In 1790, the Indians won a great victory over General Harmar, near the site of Fort Wayne, and, in the following year,

Indian war.

they inflicted a terrible defeat upon General St. Clair, near the headwaters of the Wabash. Then they tried to make a treaty which should exclude white settlers from that region ; but in 1794, in a fierce battle near the site of Toledo, they were so badly defeated by General Wayne that they were ready to accept a treaty by which they were moved further west.

107. Foreign Affairs ; Federalists and Republicans.

The great French Revolution broke out in 1789 ; the monarchy in France was overturned, and a republic proclaimed in 1792. War broke out between France and England early in 1793. The disorder in France amounted almost to anarchy, and the Hamiltonians sympathized with England as the upholder of law and order in Europe. The Jeffersonians, on the other hand, sympathized with the revolutionists in France. This made the quarrel between the two parties in America intensely bitter ; for the French expected us to help them in their war against England. In 1793, they sent, as minister to the United States, a man named Citizen Genet. The French democrats thought "Monsieur" and "Madame" too aristocratic titles, and so they addressed each other as "Citizen" and "Citizeness." This Citizen Genet behaved as if he owned the United States. Without waiting for permission from our government, he tried to have privateers fitted out in American seaports, and thus to drag us into war with Great Britain. Some Jeffersonians were ready to uphold him in almost everything, but his warmest supporters soon found his insolence intolerable. Washington sternly checked his proceedings, and the French government presently thought it best to recall him.

After the peace of 1783, the Tories in the United States were so badly treated that many thousands left

the country ; many of these went to Canada. In some of the states, British merchants found it impossible to collect old debts. By way of retaliation for these things, England delayed surrendering Detroit and other northwestern posts. It was believed that British officers in those places had secretly helped the hostile Indians. British war-ships had a way of seizing American vessels bound to or from French ports, and, what galled us worst of all, they used to search our ships and carry off American seamen on the pretense that they were deserters from the British navy. To put an end to these troubles, John Jay, chief justice of the United States, was sent on a special mission to London. He negotiated a treaty in which Great Britain did not give up the right

Jay's
treaty.



CHIEF JUSTICE JAY.¹

of search, but most other points were conceded. It was far preferable to war, and Washington's personal influence secured its adoption in spite of furious opposition.

Hamilton's followers were properly called Federalists. They believed in having a strong Federal Union instead of a loose Confederacy, such as the United States had been before 1789. The

The two
parties.

¹ From the Stuart portrait in Tuckerman's *Life of William Jay*.

Jeffersonians accused them of being monarchists at heart and lovers of England. They used to say that Federalist statesmen were bribed with "British gold" to convert our government into a monarchy. In contrast to such a party, the Jeffersonians called themselves "Republicans." This name implied that they were the only true friends of republican government. But their opponents, the Hamiltonians, called them "Democrats," and accused them of wishing to imitate in all things the democratic Frenchmen who were busily chopping off aristocratic heads in Paris. After a while, the Jeffersonian party came to be known as Democratic-Republican.

Washington refused to be a candidate for a third term, and the election of 1796 was contested between Jefferson and John Adams. The rule then was that the candidate who got the highest number of electoral votes should be president, and the one with the next highest number should be vice-president. This was an unwise rule, since under it the death of the president might reverse the result of the election. In 1796, it made John Adams president, with Thomas Jefferson for vice-president.

The election of 1796.

Administration of John Adams.

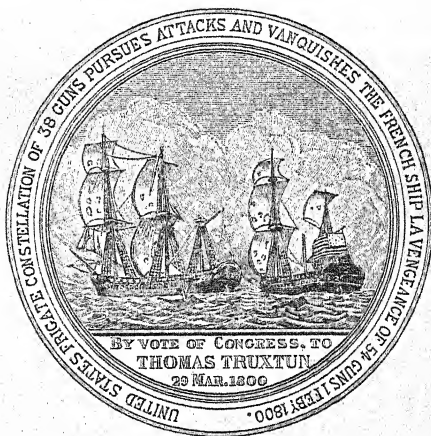
Federalist: 1797-1801.

108. The Quarrel with France. The French government was very angry with the United States for making the Jay treaty with Great Britain. The election of Adams to the presidency also enraged the French. They ordered our minister to leave the country, and their cruisers began capturing American merchant vessels. For the United States, in that period of

weakness, war was extremely undesirable. President Adams sent commissions to Paris to arrange matters amicably, but the government refused to receive them. It was base enough, however, to approach them secretly with a most impudent and infamous proposal. Emissaries from Prince Talleyrand caused it to be understood that if the United States were to bribe several members of the French government with liberal sums of money, the attacks upon our shipping would be stopped. The American envoys got this proposal in writing, and sent it to President Adams, who laid the papers before Congress. In April, 1798, the Senate had the whole thing printed and published. The letters of Talleyrand's emissaries were signed X. Y. Z., and the dispatches of the envoys have always been known as the "X. Y. Z. dispatches." There was a

The "X. Y. Z. dispatches."

fierce outburst of wrath from one end of the United States to the other. The popular war cry was, "Millions for defense; not one cent for tribute!" An army was raised, and Washington, though in his sixty-seventh year, was appointed to command it. A few very



THE TRUXTUN MEDAL.

fine war-ships were built, and one of them soon showed her mettle. In February, 1799, the gallant

Thomas Truxtun, in the 38-gun frigate *Constellation*, captured the French 38-gun frigate *L'Insurgente* in the Caribbean Sea. The French government, astonished at this blow, became more courteous, and signified its wish to avoid a war. The Federalist party was eager for war, and Adams knew

French naval vessels captured.



JOHN ADAMS.¹

well that if he were to deal peaceably with France, it would be likely to prevent his reelection to the presidency ; but he sacrificed his own ambition to the good of the country, and sent envoys to France, who settled

¹ From Trumbull's painting in Memorial Hall, Cambridge, Mass.

everything satisfactorily. Meanwhile, Captain Truxtun, in an obstinate fight, had defeated and captured the 54-gun frigate *La Vengeance*,—a useful lesson for maritime powers disposed to insult the United States.

109. The Alien and Sedition Laws. Secret emissaries of France in this country had been more or less troublesome, and Republican newspapers had heaped abuse upon President Adams, and even upon Washington. By the Alien Act, the president ^{The Alien Act.} was empowered to banish from the United States any foreigner of whom he might entertain suspicions; and if any such foreigner should return from banishment, he might be thrown into prison and kept there as long as the president should think proper. The Constitution gave Congress no power to pass such a law as ^{The Sedition Act.} this. By the Sedition Act, the publication of any writing calculated to bring Congress or the president "into contempt or disrepute" was made punishable by fine and imprisonment. This law was a gross violation of the first amendment to the Constitution, which forbids Congress to make any law "abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press."

The Alien and Sedition laws, passed in 1798, seriously damaged the Federalists. Their opponents could now plausibly declare that the government was becoming tyrannical. The legislature of Virginia adopted a series of resolutions drawn up by Madison, declaring the Alien and Sedition laws unconstitutional, and inviting the other states to join in this declaration. These resolutions were repeated the next year, 1799.

None of the other states took action except Kentucky, which went much further than Virginia, and declared that any state has a right to nullify an act of Congress which is in violation of the Constitution. To nullify

a law is to refuse to allow it to be enforced within the state. It would be very dangerous if a single state were permitted to nullify a law of the United States. It would soon break up the Union. The government of the United States has never acknowledged the right of nullification, or permitted any state to exercise it.

In the midst of these troubles, Washington died at his home, Mount Vernon, Dec. 14, 1799, having won the love and veneration of mankind for all coming ages.

Thus far, the government had been entirely in the hands of the Federalist party, and many people believed that if a Republican president were to be elected it would ruin the country. But, in spite of such

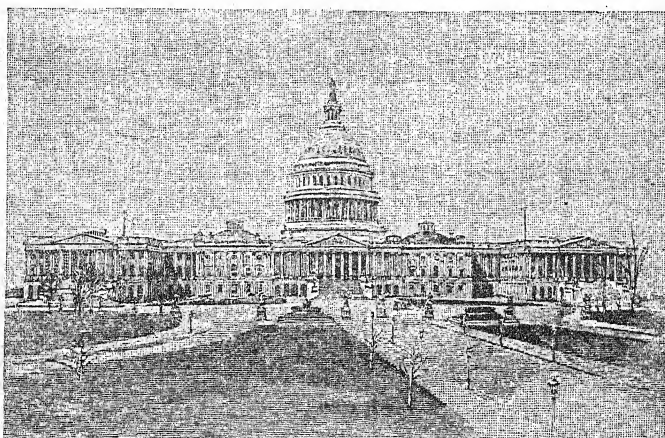
The elec-
tion of
1800.

forebodings, the indignation over the Alien and Sedition laws prevailed, and the Federalists were defeated. The old rule of taking for president the name highest on the list, and for vice-president the name next to the highest, now made serious trouble. The Republicans intended to have Aaron Burr for vice-president. There were 73 electoral votes for Jefferson, 73 for Burr, 65 for Adams, etc., so that no name was highest on the list, and the election had to be decided by the House of Representatives. Some Federalists, willing to do anything to defeat Jefferson, intrigued in favor of Burr, but the House elected Jefferson only a fortnight before Adams's term expired. The delay raised a fear that the nation might be left without any president. To prevent the recurrence of such an absurd difficulty, the twelfth amendment to the Constitution was passed, in 1804. Since then, all candidates for the presidency have been named as such on the ballot, and the candidates for the vice-presidency have been named separately.

Jefferson's Administrations.

Democratic-Republican: 1801-1809.

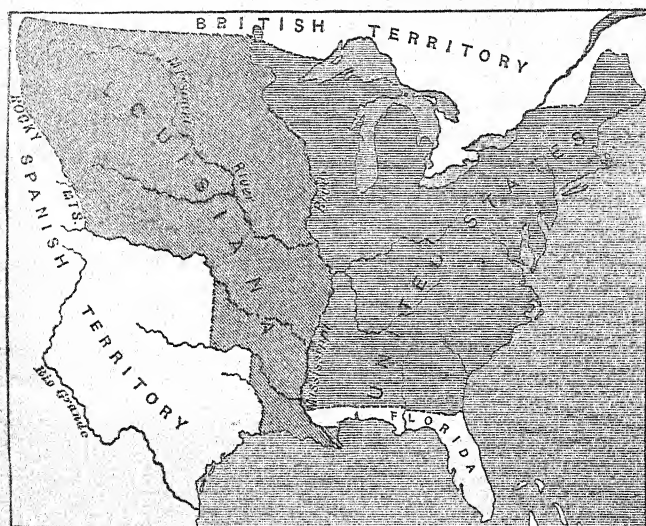
110. Louisiana, Oregon, and Tripoli. In 1800 the Federal government had been removed from Philadelphia to Washington, and Jefferson was the first president inaugurated in the Federal city. The new president



THE CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON.¹

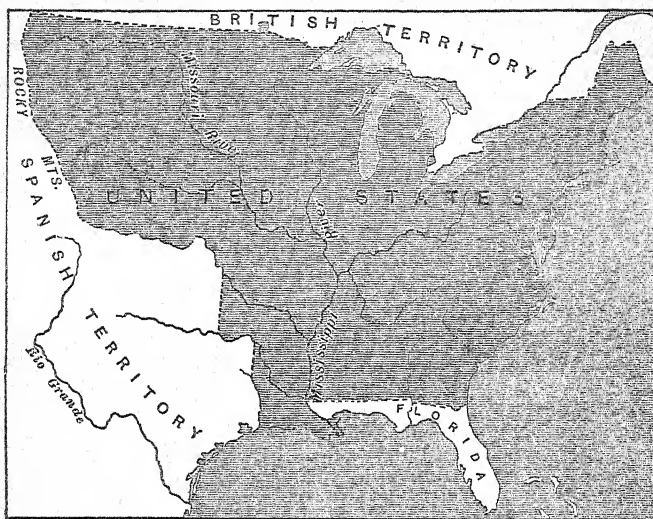
was a very remarkable man. He was an accomplished scholar, reading several languages with ease. Thomas Jefferson. He was deeply interested in science and philosophy. He was a daring horseman, a dead shot with a rifle, and a skillful performer on the violin. He

¹ This is the east front of the Capitol as it looks to-day. The old north wing (just right of the centre) was finished in 1800, the old south wing in 1811. The building was destroyed by the British in 1814, and rebuilt in 1817-27. The two extreme wings were added in 1851-59, and the great dome was finished in 1865, which was, by a curious coincidence, the year in which the perpetuity of the Union was fully decided.



THE UNITED STATES BEFORE 1803.

was very accurate and punctual in his habits, with a strong dislike for ceremony and parade. In many social and legislative reforms he was a foremost leader, as also in such matters as devising our decimal currency. He wrote the Declaration of Independence. While he was one of the first to announce the doctrine of nullification, which time has not justified, he was also the first to announce (in 1784) the doctrine upon which the present Republican party was founded, in 1854,—the doctrine that the United States government can and ought to prohibit slavery in all the national territory not already erected into states. He was also the founder of the University of Virginia. There are so many sides to Jefferson that people often fail to understand him. At the time of his election, many people feared that he and his party would try to undo the work that had



THE UNITED STATES AFTER 1803.

been done by Hamilton. But he made no serious changes, and the first great shifting of party supremacy was managed so skillfully in his hands that people's fears were soon quieted.

The most remarkable event in Jefferson's presidency was the expansion of our national area by the purchase of the Louisiana territory, comprising the entire region between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains, and extending from the north of Texas to the southern boundary of British America. By the treaty of Paris, in 1763, France had given this vast territory to Spain. By another treaty, in 1801, Spain gave it back to France; for Napoleon Bonaparte thought he would like to found a colony out there. But, in 1803, Napoleon saw that he was likely to have war with Great Britain, and knew that the Brit-

The Louisiana purchase.

ish fleet could easily keep French forces away from the Mississippi River ; so he was glad to sell the Louisiana territory to the United States, and it was done for \$15,000,000. By making this purchase, Jefferson more than doubled the area of the United States. Before 1803, that area was 827,844 square miles ; Jefferson's purchase added over 900,000 square miles, out of which have since been formed the states of Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, Wyoming, Montana, and the two Dakotas, with a great part of the states of Minnesota and Colorado, and also the Indian Territory, including Oklahoma.

The Constitution gave no express power to the president thus to add new territory to the United States, but this

purchase was so clearly for the good of the nation that people generally applauded it. Many Federalists at first tried to condemn it, but they could only do so by abandoning their loose construction of the Elastic Clause (§ 105).

West of the Louisiana territory, and north of the Lewis and Clark. Spanish possessions, was a magnificent and fertile country where white men had never set foot. To what nation Oregon belonged was doubtful.



PREBLE MEDAL (OBVERSE).

Its great river had been discovered, in 1792, by Captain Robert Gray, of Boston, in the good ship *Columbia*, whose name he gave to the river. The illustrious British sailors, Cook, Meares, and Vancouver, had explored parts of the coast. In 1804, President Jefferson sent an overland expedition under Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark. These explorers ascended the Missouri River to its sources, then found the valley of the Columbia, and explored it down to the Pacific Ocean,

thus strengthening our claim to the possession of Oregon. The story of this great expedition is full of charm.

The Mahometan states of Tripoli and Tunis, Algiers and Morocco, had long made a business of piracy. Their cruisers swarmed upon the Medi-

terranean and the Atlantic, and robbed the merchant ships of Christian nations. The plunder which the pirates carried home they divided with their robber sovereigns. Distinguished captives were held for ransom; all others were sold as slaves. This sort of thing had been going on since

The war
with
Tripoli.



PREBLE MEDAL (REVERSE).¹

¹ The inscription reads as follows: (*obverse*) The American Congress to Edward Preble, the gallant commander, (*reverse*) Defender of American commerce before Tripoli, 1804.

the times before Columbus, and vast sums had in vain been paid to the robber states to bribe them to keep the peace. The Americans had begun in this way, and had made presents to Algiers and Tunis, to keep them from seizing American vessels. Then the Bashaw of Tripoli informed our government that he would wait six months for a handsome present from us, and if it did not come he would declare war against the United States. He was as good as his word, but, to the surprise of all those pirate states, a small American fleet entered the Mediterranean and bombarded the city of Tripoli. After hostilities had continued for a couple of years, Tripoli was thoroughly humiliated, and the experiment of levying blackmail upon the Americans was never tried again by those barbarous states.

Except for this war with the pirates, which was as creditable to our country as it was successful, Jefferson's first administration was a time of profound peace. It was the only time between 1793 and 1815 when warfare was not going on between France and Great Britain, and when American shipping on the high seas was comparatively unmolested. It was a prosperous time, and Jefferson's popularity grew to be such that, in the autumn of 1804, he received 162 electoral votes against 14 for the Federalist candidate, Cotesworth Pinckney. For vice-president, the Republicans elected George Clinton, as Burr's intrigues with the Federalists had ruined his reputation. Hamilton had more than once interfered with Burr's schemes, and that wretched man vowed revenge. In 1804, he contrived to kill Hamilton in a duel. This aroused such intense indignation as to wreck Burr's career. He afterwards set out on some crazy plan for creating a new government for himself in the Southwest, which

The elec-
tion of
1804.

led to his arrest and trial for treason ; but for want of sufficient evidence he was acquitted.

111. The Embargo Act. In Jefferson's second administration, it was abundantly shown that, although our country was growing rapidly in population and wealth, it was still too weak to defend itself against vexatious insult at the hands of strong naval powers. The United States had then a very large mercantile marine for a power of its size, and thus, between the navies of England and France, it was like a rich and unarmed traveler between two brigands. Neutral ships were forbidden by Napoleon to enter British ports. England replied with decrees, known as Orders in Council, forbid-
Orders in Council.

ding neutral ships to enter the ports of any nation allied with Napoleon or subordinate to him. These decrees cut American ships off from almost all the harbors of Europe. Both France and England did us as much damage as possible. But England aroused our wrath the more because British vessels impressed our seamen (§ 107). France could not offend us in this way because an American could not easily be mistaken for a Frenchman. In 1807, war came near breaking out. The British 50-gun frigate *Leopard*, close upon the coast of Virginia, undertook to search the American 38-gun frigate *Chesapeake*. The American captain refused to allow the search, whereupon the *Leopard* fired several broadsides, killing and wounding more than twenty men on the *Chesapeake*. The latter, being not even
The search of the Chesapeake.
in readiness to return the fire, hauled down her flag, whereupon British officers came on board and carried off four of the crew on the pretense that they were deserters from the British navy. This outrage would probably have led the United States to declare war at once, had not England disavowed the act.

If the United States had been stronger, it might have made war upon both France and England. As it was, its weakness made it hard to know what to do. It was thought that we could deal a heavy blow at our two tormentors, and perhaps bring them to terms, by refusing to trade with them altogether; and, accordingly, in 1807, Congress passed the Embargo Act, which forbade any vessel to set out from the United States for any foreign port. Whether this act hurt England and France or not, there was soon no doubt whatever that it was damaging the United States as badly as our worst enemy could wish. British and French cruisers had injured our commerce severely, but the Embargo nearly destroyed it. New England, which had the most shipping, suffered the most, and some Federalist leaders entertained dreams of seceding from the Union.

The excitement over the Embargo did not materially weaken the Republican party. The legislatures of nearly all the Republican states requested Jefferson to accept a third term, but he refused, as Washington had done; and the refusal of these two great presidents created a feeling, which has come to have the force of custom, that no president ought to serve for more than two terms.

In the November election, James Madison, the Republican candidate, obtained 129 electoral votes, against 47 for Cotesworth Pinckney. In the following February, John Quincy Adams, a supporter of the Embargo, privately informed President Jefferson that further attempts to enforce it in the New England states would be likely to drive them to secession. Accordingly, the Embargo was repealed, and the Non-Intercourse Act was substituted for it. This act allowed commercial intercourse with all nations except England and France.

The election of 1808.

Madison's Administrations.

Democratic-Republican : 1809-1817.

112. James Madison. For intellectual power our fourth president has been surpassed by none in the whole series. His learning was great, and, as a constructive statesman of the highest order, he had played a foremost part in making the Constitution of the United States. He was a man of kindly temper and great refinement and courtesy. Washington held him in high esteem, and Jefferson loved him like a brother. In politics he was always something more than a party leader, and he showed that independence which often goes with broad sympathies and far-sighted wisdom.

But with all his great qualities, Madison had not exactly the kind of genius that could manage a war successfully. He was above all a man of peace. He hated war with all his heart ; and, like his three predecessors in the presidency, he felt that the best interests of the American nation required that it should keep out of war. That, however, was fast becoming impossible.

113. Second War with Great Britain. In 1810, Congress tried to hold out hopes of repealing the Non-Intercourse Act as a bribe to France and England to repeal their obnoxious decrees in so far as they affected American ships and commerce. Napoleon took advantage of this in a way that was just like him ; he publicly informed the United States that he revoked his decrees, and, at the same moment, he ^{Napoleon's duplicity.} issued secret orders to his admiralty officials, instructing them to pay no heed to this public announcement. Congress was duped, and repealed the Non-Intercourse Act so far as France was concerned. England was

again asked to repeal her obnoxious decrees, called Orders in Council, but she refused on the ground that Napoleon had not really revoked his decrees. So the Non-Intercourse Act was kept up against Great Britain alone, and we were not long in drifting into hostilities. In May, 1811, the British sloop *Little Belt* fired upon the American frigate *President*; the fire was returned until the *Little Belt* was sadly cut up and obliged to surrender. Meanwhile, many American ships, deceived by Napoleon's lie, had ventured into French ports. For a little while they were well enough treated so as to induce more to come; then all at once they were all seized, and in this way Napoleon contrived to rob peaceable American citizens of several million dollars. This act was a far greater outrage than any that England had committed; and if it were necessary for the United States to go to war with either power, it was certainly France that had given us most cause for resentment.

But a war with France must needs be defensive, for we could not send an army across the ocean. It would perhaps have been better policy for us to go to war with France, for that would have made England our ally, and would at once have put an end to the grievances we were suffering at her hands. A war with England, however, would give us a chance to be aggressive; we might invade and perhaps conquer Canada. This prospect was tempting to the people west of the Alleghanies, and to a group of young and enterprising statesmen, one of whom, Henry Clay, of Kentucky, was chosen speaker of the House of Representatives, in November, 1811.

War declared.

These men prevailed upon President Madison to adopt their war policy, and war was at length declared June 18, 1812. Two days before this,

the British government revoked its Orders in Council, but it was too late. Even if the news of the revocation had reached America in time, it is doubtful if it would have prevented the war unless Great Britain had also renounced the right of search. The popularity of the war was shown in the autumn elections. Some of the Republicans, dissatisfied with Madison, nominated DeWitt Clinton, of New York, for the presidency, and the Federalists, hopeless of electing any candidate of their own, concluded to support Clinton. Of the 218 electoral votes, Madison obtained 128, and was elected.

The election of 1812.

For England, the "mistress of the seas," the war began with some strange surprises. On the 13th of August, the frigate Essex, Captain Porter, captured the British sloop Alert, after a fight of eight minutes, without losing

Naval victories.

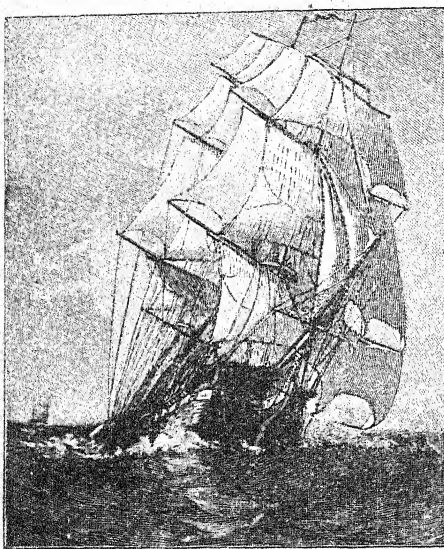
a man. But that was nothing compared to what happened six days later, when the 44-gun frigate Constitution, Captain Isaac Hull, after a half-hour's fight in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, captured the 38-gun frigate Guerrière. The British ship lost 100 men, her three masts with all



ISAAC HULL.¹

their rigging were shot away, and her hull was so cut up that she had to be left to sink; the American ship

¹ From *The Analectic Magazine*, vol. i.

THE CONSTITUTION.¹

had fourteen men killed and wounded, and within an hour or so was ready for another fight. On the 13th of October, the sloop Wasp captured the British sloop Frolic. On the 25th, the frigate United States, Captain Decatur, captured the frigate Macedonian, off

the island of Madeira, after a fight of an hour and a half. The British ship lost 106 men, was totally dismasted, and

¹ From a painting by Marshall Johnson, Jr., owned by Benjamin F. Stevens, Boston, Mass. This noble frigate, one of the most famous ships known to history, was built at Hart's shipyard, in Boston, and launched October 21, 1797, at the place where Constitution Wharf now stands. She was coppered by Paul Revere, and first went to sea in August, 1798, under Commodore Nicholson. In 1833, she was pronounced unseaworthy, and it was decided to destroy her. It was then that Oliver Wendell Holmes wrote his famous poem *Old Ironsides*.

"Ay, tear her tattered ensign down!
 Long has it waved on high,
 And many an eye has danced to see
 That banner in the sky;
 Beneath it rung the battle shout,
 And burst the cannon's roar;—
 The meteor of the ocean air
 Shall sweep the clouds no more.

"Her deck, once red with heroes' blood,
 Where knelt the vanquished foe,
 When winds were hurrying o'er the flood,
 And waves were white below,

had nearly 100 shot holes in her hull, but was brought away as a prize; Decatur lost twelve men, and his ship was scatheless. On the 29th of December, the Constitution, now commanded by Captain Bainbridge, met the British frigate Java, off the coast of Brazil; when, after two hours' firing, the Java struck her colors, she had lost 230 men, and was a total wreck. A similar result attended the fight in the following February, between the sloop Hornet, Captain Lawrence, and the British brig Peacock, which sank before her crew could be taken off.

It must be remembered that, when these things happened, the English and French navies had been fighting for more than twenty years, and in such single combats the English had captured hundreds of ships and had lost only five. But now, in the course of six months, in six fights with American vessels, the British had lost six ships and taken none. This was partly because the Americans built better ships, partly because our crews were better disciplined, and our gunners more accurate in their firing. One sagacious British captain perceived this, and won success by adopting American methods of training his force. This was Captain Philip Broke,

No more shall feel the victor's tread,
Or know the conquered knee; —
The harpies of the shore shall pluck
The eagle of the sea!

"O, better that her shattered hulk
Should sink beneath the wave;
Her thunders shook the mighty deep,
And there should be her grave;
Nail to the mast her holy flag,
Set every threadbare sail,
And give her to the god of storms,
The lightning and the gale!"

This poem aroused such a protest that the destruction of the venerable ship was averted. She was thoroughly repaired, and put to sea again in 1834. She may be seen to-day (1894) in the Navy Yard at Portsmouth, N. H.

in command of the frigate Shannon; on June 1, 1813, he captured the frigate Chesapeake near Boston harbor. The Americans lost 148 men, and the British 83. The Chesapeake's commander, Captain Lawrence, late of the Hornet, was mortally wounded, and, as he was carried below, exclaimed, "Don't give up the ship!" For this welcome victory, Captain Broke was at once made a baronet, and the extravagant jubilation in England shows what profound chagrin had been felt there for ten months.

Loss of the
Chesa-
peake.

It is unnecessary to recount all the sea fights of this war. But it should be remembered how Captain Porter, in the Essex, cruised a whole year in the Pacific Ocean, capturing the enemy's merchant ships, and at last, in March, 1814, was attacked in the harbor of Valparaiso by two British frigates and forced to surrender. In that bloody fight was a young midshipman, David Farragut, at the beginning of a great career. In the following summer, at different times, the Wasp captured two British sloops, her equals in force, in the English Channel. But it was reserved for the gallant Constitution, endeared to the people under her nickname "Old Ironsides," to cap the climax. In February, 1815, as she was cruising off the island of Madeira, with Captain Stewart in command, ignorant of the fact that the war had ended, she was attacked by two British vessels, the frigate Cyane and the sloop Levant, and after a brisk action of forty minutes she captured them both.

114. Leading Events of the War. The moral effect of these superb sea fights was tremendous; but otherwise we gained not much from them. In spite of such victories, we could not prevent the British navy from blockading portions of our coast. On land we suffered many reverses. To conquer Canada was not so easy as

Other sea
fights.

it seemed, and things were ill managed. General William Hull began the invasion of Canada, but the army with which he started from Detroit ^{Loss of Detroit.} was insufficient; he was driven back into Detroit, and compelled to surrender. The British captured Fort Dearborn, now Chicago, at about the same time.

The whole Northwest was thus thrown open to the enemy, and this was the more disastrous because the war against Great Britain was complicated with an Indian war which we could not have avoided in any event. For some time, the famous chieftain, Tecumseh, had been entertaining a scheme like that of Pontiac, for uniting a great number of Indian tribes to ^{Indian war in the Northwest.} drive back the steadily advancing westward wave of white settlers. Tecumseh's brother, called the Prophet, had begun the war, in 1811, and had been totally defeated by General Harrison at Tippecanoe. Now the surrender of Detroit gave these Indians free sweep for a time. Unreasonable blame was laid upon General Hull, who was tried for neglect of duty and condemned to death, but fortunately was pardoned by President Madison. It has since been made clear that Hull was blamed unjustly. He was succeeded by Harrison, who set out to recover Detroit, but British and Indians, under General Proctor, defeated his advanced guard at the River Raisin (January 22, 1813). For years afterward, the River Raisin was a name of horror, for the Indians murdered all the prisoners. Harrison's progress was checked.

Instead of conquering Canada, it began to look as if we might lose the northwestern territory, or a great part of it. But before the British could take it from us they must control Lake Erie, and, on September 10, 1813, there was a memorable battle on its waters. The

British and American fleets were about equal in strength. The former consisted of six ships with sixty-three guns in all, and was commanded by one of Nelson's veterans, Captain Barclay. There were nine American vessels, but smaller, and they carried only fifty-four guns. It was but a few weeks since a considerable part of this fleet was growing in the neighboring forests.

The battle
of Lake
Erie.

The young captain whose marvelous exertions had built and armed it, Oliver Hazard Perry, had never been in action before. His flagship was named the *Lawrence*, and a blue pennon at her



O. H. PERRY.¹

masthead bore the dying words of the brave captain of the *Chesapeake*. The *Lawrence* fought the two heaviest British ships, keeping their full force directed upon herself, until only Perry and eight of the crew were left. With these, the captain jumped into a boat, carrying his flag in hand, and was rowed through the midst of the enemy's fire to the

Niagara. There he hoisted his flag, and, in a splendid charge, broke the British line and captured their whole fleet. His dispatch announcing the victory was brief and telling: "We have met the enemy, and they are ours!" It was Perry who turned the scales of war. His victory enabled Harrison to enter Canada, where he utterly defeated Proctor and Tecumseh in the battle

¹ After an engraving in *The Analectic Magazine* for December, 1813. The original painting is now in the New York City Hall.

of the Thames. Tecumseh was killed in the battle, and Detroit was presently recovered.

The next summer, 1814, the Americans tried to invade Canada by way of the Niagara River. Jacob Brown and Winfield Scott crossed the river, and won two bloody battles at Chippewa, July 5, and at Lundy's Lane, July 25, but could get no further. Later in the season, two British assaults on Fort Erie were repulsed. At the same time, the British tried to invade New York, as Burgoyne had done, but their



THOMAS MACDONOUGH.¹

land force was totally defeated at Plattsburg by General Macomb, while Commodore Macdonough destroyed their fleet on Lake Champlain.

Our southwestern frontier was in Alabama, where the Creek Indians began hostilities, in August, 1813, with a frightful massacre of men, women, and children, at Fort Mimms. Then Andrew Jackson, with his Tennessee troops and a few United States regulars, made a bloody campaign of nearly seven months, ending with the great battle of Tallapoosa, in March, 1814, which finally broke the Indian power in the Southwest.

In that very month Napoleon was dethroned, and so England was able to send more troops to America. In

¹ After Stuart's painting, owned by Macdonough's descendants, and now hanging in the rooms of the Century Club, New York.

August, a small British force entered the city of Washington, which had no troops at hand to defend it, and burned several public buildings, a kind of exploit in which there is not much glory. They next tried to attack Baltimore, but were repulsed. No military purpose was subserved by these proceedings.

The next and last movement of the British was against New Orleans. An army of 12,000 men, under Sir Edward Pakenham, landed below that city in December. General Jackson, with about half as many men, awaited attack in a strongly intrenched position. It was foolish in Pakenham to try an assault, but he and his men were Wellington's veterans, and no such word as "defeat" was in their dictionary. But the 8th of January, 1815, wrote that word for them in big letters. Their assault upon Jackson's lines lasted about twenty-five minutes; then they made all haste from the field, leaving 2,600 killed and wounded. Pakenham was among the slain. The American loss was only eight killed and thirteen wounded, for they kept mowing down the British ranks so fast that the latter had no chance to return their fire. Never in all the history of England was a British army so badly defeated. This affair made Andrew Jackson the most prominent personage in the United States.

This war was always unpopular in New England, and with the Federalist party, or what was left of it. In December, 1814, some of the Federalist leaders met at Hartford and passed resolutions. Among other things, they demanded that custom house duties collected in New England should be paid to the states within whose borders they were collected, and not to the United States. This would have virtually dissolved the Union.

The Hart-
ford Con-
vention.

But on Christmas eve, 1814, a treaty of peace was signed at Ghent, between the American and British commissioners who had been discussing matters ever since August. Those were not the days of ^{The Treaty of Ghent.} telegraphs, and the last victories on land and sea were won without knowing that peace had already been made. The treaty left things just as they were before the war began. But the war had not been fought for nothing. It had strengthened the American feeling of nationality, and it had shown that the Period of Weakness, for this new nation, was coming to an end. After our naval victories, and the thunderbolt at New Orleans, no European nation was likely to think it worth while to insult the United States.

TOPICS AND QUESTIONS.

103. THE COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE.
 1. The United States a third-rate power in 1789.
 2. The occupations of the people.
 3. The isolation of the states.
 4. The great cities at this time.
 5. Their rural aspect.
 6. The furnishing of city houses.
 7. The amusements of city people.
 8. Farmers' homes and their furnishing.
 9. The country kitchen and its appointments.
 10. Travel, and its rarity.
104. ELEMENTS OF PROGRESS.
 1. Natural sources of wealth.
 2. The age of machinery.
 3. The need of a strong federal government.
 4. The need of a strong local government.
 5. The experience of a century with each.
105. HAMILTON AND THE ASSUMPTION OF DEBTS.
 1. The pressure of the money question.
 2. Washington's secretary of the treasury.
 3. A plan to pay the debts of Congress.
 4. The wisdom of the plan.

5. The constitutional objection urged by some.
6. Hamilton and Jefferson on the Elastic Clause.
7. The first great division into parties.
8. How the North and the South divided.
9. Fixing the site for the federal capital.
106. THE TARIFF; WAR WITH THE INDIANS.
 1. Why did Congress need a revenue?
 2. What is the advantage of an indirect tax?
 3. How did Hamilton raise money?
 4. What other use of the tariff did he advise?
 5. What trouble came from his whiskey tax?
 6. What did the Indians contend for in the Northwest?
 7. What battles were fought, and with what result?
107. FOREIGN AFFAIRS; FEDERALISTS AND REPUBLICANS.
 1. What Americans were friendly to France, and why?
 2. What Americans were friendly to England, and why?
 3. Give an account of Citizen Genet.
 4. What troubles with England arose after 1783?
 5. Jay's treaty accomplished what?
 6. The Federalists held what views?
 7. What views were they accused of having?
 8. The Republicans held what views?
 9. What views were they charged with holding?
 10. Give an account of the election of 1796.
108. THE QUARREL WITH FRANCE.
 1. French wrath against the United States.
 2. The X. Y. Z. dispatches.
 3. The response of the United States.
 4. Truxtun's naval victories.
 5. Adams's sacrifice for peace.
109. THE ALIEN AND SEDITION LAWS.
 1. The purpose of the Alien Act.
 2. The purpose of the Sedition Act.
 3. The constitutionality of these acts.
 4. The effect of these acts on the Federalist party.
 5. Virginia's action about these laws.
 6. Kentucky's action about them.
 7. The objection to nullification.
 8. The triumph of the Republicans.
 9. The trouble in electing the vice-president.
 10. The twelfth amendment to the Constitution.

110. LOUISIANA, OREGON, AND TRIPOLI.

1. Give an account of Thomas Jefferson, dealing (*a*) with his scholarship, (*b*) with his habits, (*c*) with his doctrines, and (*d*) with some people's fear of him.
2. What was the extent of the Louisiana territory?
3. Show how it changed hands before Napoleon's sale of it.
4. Why did Napoleon sell it to the United States?
5. What has been the effect of the purchase on the United States?
6. Tell about the Oregon territory before 1804.
7. What was accomplished by the Lewis and Clark expedition?
8. Describe the piracy of Tripoli and other Mahometan states.
9. What demand was made upon the United States?
10. What was the American response?
11. What led to Jefferson's reflection?
12. Tell about the duel of Burr and Hamilton.
13. What subsequently became of Burr?

111. THE EMBARGO ACT.

1. The mercantile marine of the United States.
2. The decrees of France and England about neutral ships.
3. The effect of these decrees upon American ships.
4. The impressment of seamen from the Chesapeake.
5. The purpose of the Embargo Act.
6. The effect of the Embargo Act.
7. The feeling about a third term for a president.
8. The result of the election of 1808.
9. The fate of the Embargo Act.

112. JAMES MADISON.

1. The fine traits of the fourth president.
2. His aversion to war.

113. SECOND WAR WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

1. Napoleon's duplicity about non-intercourse.
2. England's refusal to repeal her decrees.
3. Hostilities with England.
4. The country outraged by Napoleon.
5. War with England preferred to war with France.
6. War declared under peculiar conditions.
7. The election of 1812.
8. Six naval victories.

9. The novelty and the cause of these British defeats.
10. The British capture of the Chesapeake.
11. The Essex, the Wasp, and the Constitution.
114. LEADING EVENTS OF THE WAR.
 1. The loss of Detroit.
 2. The scheme of Tecumseh.
 3. Hull's surrender, and the Indian opportunity.
 4. The failure to recover Detroit.
 5. The battle of Lake Erie.
 - a. How it came to be fought.
 - b. The building of the American fleet.
 - c. The heroism of Perry.
 - d. The consequences of the victory.
 6. Fighting the Creeks.
 7. The wanton attack upon Washington.
 8. Jackson and the battle of New Orleans.
 9. The demands of the Hartford Convention.
 10. The treaty of peace.
 11. The war not fought in vain.

SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS AND DIRECTIONS.

1. Why is the period of chapter xiii. called The Period of Weakness? Give proofs of the weakness of this time.
2. Where may houses and furnishings of the last century still be seen? In what parts of the country are they unknown? What customs of the last century are still observed, and where? Where is one more likely to see them at the present time? What old-time customs, arts, and constructions are people fond of reproducing to-day?
3. What are some of the oldest towns and cities in our country? Select one of them, and tell what traces of the last century it still retains. Compare it in age with European cities you have in mind. Why is an old city more interesting than a new one?
4. Is the George Washington of our thought to-day like the real Washington of the Revolution? What things do we probably leave out of our Washington that belonged to the real one? Is the Benedict Arnold of our thought to-day like the real Arnold? If not, what is the difference? Mention other Americans whose reputations for better or for worse have increased with time. May not events as well as men become

different in the popular thought from what they really were?
If so, give illustrations.

5. What accusations were brought against Washington at different times by his opponents? (See McMaster's *History of the People of the United States*.)
6. Wherein was Washington especially great?
7. What is a tariff? A tariff for revenue only? A tariff for protection? A moderate tariff? A prohibitory tariff? What is free trade? Has there always been free trade between the states? What officers and buildings does a tariff make necessary? What offenses does a tariff make possible?
8. Show how a poor man whose tax bill is nothing pays taxes in substance if not in form. Show how some of the money it costs him to live goes to the town or city, some to the county, some to the state, and some to the nation. Does anybody succeed in escaping payment of taxes? Has American history been affected by questions of taxation? If so, how?
9. Tell about the French Revolution of 1789. Had American events anything to do with it? If so, in what way?
10. Would you have been a Federalist or a Republican in Washington's time? Give reasons for your answer. Are the Republicans of the Civil War and since that time the same historically as the Jeffersonian Republicans? Explain. What differences were there between these two Republican parties in respect (a) to the idea of a strong central government, and (b) to nullification. Tell about *The Federalist* as to its authorship, its purpose, its influence, and its fame.
11. Why were President Adams and Vice-President Jefferson badly matched politically? How did it happen? Why is such a thing not likely to happen again?
12. What reasons had Americans for sympathizing with France? What reasons had they for not sympathizing with France?
13. What is bribery? What shapes may it take? What is there wrong about it? What instances of bribery, or attempted bribery, are there in American history? Why is it an insult to an honest man to offer him a bribe? Which is the greater offender, the briber or the bribed? How was it when America bribed the Barbary pirates?
14. Are newspapers free to-day to bring Congress or the president into "contempt or disrepute" by what they publish? Why

- is it undesirable to enact laws against such publications?
Is the press absolutely free under our laws to say any gross or untrue thing it pleases about public men?
15. Ought not an unconstitutional act of Congress to be nullified? Why should not a state be permitted to nullify it? What way of nullifying such an act has been provided?
 16. What different states have advocated nullification at different times? Why is there so little talk of nullification to-day?
 17. Was Jefferson a strict constructionist of the Constitution or a loose one? How did he construe the Constitution when he bought Louisiana?
 18. Why was it an inglorious exploit to burn the public buildings at Washington?
 19. Was the War of 1812 one that could have been honorably averted? Compare it with the War of the Revolution in respect (a) to causes, (b) to duration, (c) to American generalship on land, (d) to conflicts on the sea, (e) to the authority of the government that carried it on, (f) to the magnitude of the principles at stake, and (g) to results.

TOPICS FOR COLLATERAL READING.

The following topics are selected from *A History of the People of the United States*, by John Bach McMaster, published by D. Appleton & Co., New York. This work is intended to cover the period from the American Revolution to the Civil War. At present (1894) it consists of three volumes that bring events down to the War of 1812. While this work deals with political parties and controversies, wars and rebellions, the great leaders of affairs, and the larger features of national development, it is of special interest to teachers and pupils because of the prominence it gives to the real every-day life of the people, to their likings and aversions, to their homes, occupations, and amusements, to the progress of invention and learning among them, to the growth of the humane spirit,—in short, to those numerous and varied elements which lie beneath the surface of what is popularly known as history, and form the soil whence it issues.

I. THE STATE OF AMERICA IN 1784, i. 1-102:

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|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Boston in 1784. | 4. The country minister. |
| 2. The New England farmer. | 5. The old-time doctor. |
| 3. Times of the red school-house. | 6. The newspapers. |

7. Letters.
 8. Carrying the mail.
 9. Travel by land and by sea.
 10. New York city in 1784.
 11. Albany in 1784.
 12. Seaport towns.
 13. Philadelphia in 1784.
 14. Pittsburgh in 1784.
 15. The Georgia planter.
 16. The Virginia gentleman.
 17. Books.
 18. The fine arts.
 19. Baltimore in 1784.
 20. Opposition to the theatre.
 21. Condition of the laborer.
 22. Prisons and criminals.
2. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, i. 525-604 :
1. The tardy assembling of the first Congress.
 2. The crusade against foreign goods.
 3. Debate on titles for the president.
 4. Slavery and the slave trade.
 5. The changing centre of population.
 6. Presidential etiquette.
 7. Washington's tour of the country.
3. THE STRUGGLE FOR NEUTRALITY, ii. 89-108 :
1. Illustrations of strong sympathy with France.
 2. How Citizen Genet carried a high hand.
 3. How Washington was roundly abused.
 4. An ocean duel between French and English.
 5. Genet's failure and recall.
 6. Hardships in settling Ohio.
 7. Settlements in the interior of New York.
 8. Eli Whitney and the cotton gin.
 9. Samuel Slater and the first cotton mill.
 10. How the British searched American ships.
 11. The beginning of the American navy.
 12. What the Republicans (also known as Democrats) wanted.
 13. The peace policy of Washington.
4. TOWN AND COUNTRY LIFE IN 1800, ii. 538-582 :
1. Fires and firemen.
 2. Fire insurance.
 3. French fashions.
 4. Ball rooms and theatres.
 5. Plays and players.
 6. Automaton shows.
 7. A balloon ascension.
 8. Museums and the circus.
 9. The Lancaster turnpike.
 10. German farmers.
 11. Discomforts of travel.
 12. Country inns.
 13. New England meeting-houses.
 14. The growth of impiety.
 15. Fishing villages.
 16. The New England Primer.
 17. Western pioneers.
 18. Paths of emigration.
 19. Frontier life.
 20. The Kentucky revival.

5. STATE OF THE PEOPLE IN 1812, iii. 459-540 :
- | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Growth in thirty years. | 12. Horse-power railways. |
| 2. Streams of emigrants. | 13. Rise of manufactures. |
| 3. The rage for turnpikes. | 14. Pay of workmen. |
| 4. Cost of carrying goods. | 15. Labor societies. |
| 5. Surveying the coast. | 16. Strikes. |
| 6. Roads and canals. | 17. Slavery discussions. |
| 7. Towns on the Ohio. | 18. Putting down the slave trade. |
| 8. Trade in the Southwest. | 19. Tecumseh. |
| 9. Steamboat experiments. | 20. The Prophet, his brother. |
| 10. Robert Fulton. | 21. William Henry Harrison. |
| 11. Steaming up the Hudson. | 22. Tippecanoe. |
6. MISCELLANEOUS TOPICS from vols. i., ii., and iii. :
1. Robert Morris, the financier of the Revolution.
 2. The first tour of Lafayette in America.
 3. The voyage of the Empress to China.
 4. A serious rebellion subdued in Massachusetts.
 5. The character of Benjamin Franklin.
 6. The character of Patrick Henry.
 7. The great Whiskey Insurrection.
 8. Election frauds in 1796.
 9. John Randolph of Roanoke.
 10. The death of Alexander Hamilton.
 11. Aaron Burr and his wild schemes.
 12. The city of New Orleans in its early days.
 13. Treatment of criminals in the territories.
 14. The expedition of Lewis and Clark.
 15. The Barbary pirates brought to terms.
 16. The impressment of American seamen by the British.
 17. The search of the Chesapeake.
 18. The long Embargo, and the distress it caused.
 19. New England's attitude toward the Embargo.
 20. Jefferson at Monticello.
 21. The President and the Little Belt.
 22. The youth of Henry Clay.

CHAPTER XIV.

WESTWARD EXPANSION. 1815-1850.

115. The Close of a Warlike Period. The year 1815 marks the beginning of a new era in America and in Europe. It saw the end of the terrible Napoleonic wars, to which our second war with Great Britain was merely an appendage. Since 1815, the civilized world has been more successful than ever before in keeping clear of war. It is close upon eighty years since 1815, and in this time Europe has seen about ten years of war, and the United States about six years; but in the eighty years before 1815, Europe saw about fifty years of war, and the United States as many as thirty years. In going back still further, we should find for Europe and the world in general a still worse record.

With the peace that began in 1815 there came many improvements and reforms. A change of industry had been going on with the application of steam and machinery to manufacturing; and now that the war was over, the effects of this change began to be felt everywhere. Wealth and comfort were increased, and questions of domestic policy began to have more interest for people than questions growing out of warfare.

Monroe's Administrations.

Democratic-Republican: 1817-1825.

116. The Era of Good Feeling. Before Jefferson's election to the presidency, the Federalists were the

national party, and when threats of nullification or secession were heard, it was from Republicans, as in the Kentucky Resolutions of 1799. But after Jefferson's election the Republicans came to be more and more the national party, and when threats of secession were heard, it was from Federalists, chiefly in New England. As the national spirit grew, such threats fell

The elections of
1816 and
1820.

into disfavor. The Hartford Convention killed the Federalist party. In 1816, their candidate, Rufus King, received only 34 electoral votes against 187 for the Republican candidate, James Monroe. In 1820, the Federalists put no candidate into the field, and Monroe's reelection was practically unanimous. Since the two elections of George Washington, that of James Monroe, in 1820, is the only one in which there



JAMES MONROE.¹

has been no opposing candidate. His presidency was, therefore, called "the era of good feeling." For great powers or accomplishments, he cannot be compared with any of the first four presidents. He was a plain, honest, able citizen, with many virtues and much popularity.

117. Monroe's Foreign Policy. During the late war, Florida had been in a condition of anarchy, and the Seminole Indians molested the frontier of Georgia. Since the Spanish government could not or would not

¹ After a painting by Vanderlyn, in the New York City Hall.

maintain order there, Andrew Jackson invaded Florida and virtually took possession of the country. His conduct excited hot debate in Congress and in the Cabinet, but the matter was finally adjusted by buying Florida and paying Spain \$5,000,000 for it. This was done in 1819.

Spain's hands were tied at that time by the revolt of her Mexican and South American colonies, which set themselves up, one after another, as independent republics. In 1815, the sovereigns of Russia, Prussia, and Austria formed a compact known as the Holy Alliance, the real object of which was to uphold

Purchase
of Florida.

The Holy
Alliance.

absolute monarchy, and to lend a hand wherever possible in suppressing republican movements. There were indications that the Holy Alliance might assist in subduing Mexico and other Spanish-American states, and in such an event there was danger that those American countries might get divided up among European powers stronger than Spain. For example, Russia, which possessed Alaska, and had lately established sundry trading posts upon the coast of California, might conclude to take California in payment of services. To guard against such complications, President Monroe declared, in a message to Congress, in 1823, that the United States regarded the continents of North and South America as no longer open to colonization by European powers; and, further, that any European attempt to interfere with any independent American government would be resented by the United States. To language of this sort the exploits of Andrew Jackson and of "Old Ironsides" had given a serious meaning. Ten years earlier, all Europe would have laughed at it; but now England sympathized with it, and the Holy Alliance abandoned its schemes. Monroe's

The Mon-
roe doc-
trine.

message was, in the European money market, considered equivalent to a decisive victory for the Spanish-American states; their funds rose in value at once. The next year, Russia made a treaty with us in which she abandoned all claim to the Pacific coast south of $54^{\circ} 40'$, the southern limit of Alaska.

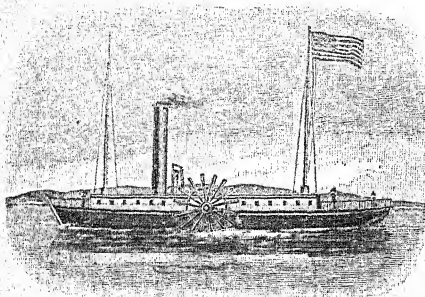
118. The Unexpected Growth of Negro Slavery.

Between 1790 and 1820, the population of the United States increased from nearly four to nearly ten million. The public revenue had increased twice as fast as the population, that is, fivefold, from five to twenty-five

Westward
growth.

million dollars. Some of this increase of population and business was always pushing westward in spite of grave obstacles, the chief of which had been the danger from Indians and the difficulty of moving persons and goods from place to place. But the victories of Harrison and Jackson had overthrown the Indian power headlong as far as the Mississippi. As to

locomotion, wonderful things had lately been done. In 1807, Robert Fulton's steamboat, the Clermont, the first successful steamboat, began running up and down the Hudson River. In



FULTON'S STEAMBOAT, THE CLERMONT.¹

1811, a steamboat was launched on the Ohio River, at Pittsburgh, the "Gateway of the West," and it was not long before the western rivers were lively with swift

¹ From an old print.

little puffing and wheezing vessels, carrying settlers with their household goods, farm produce and tools, bales of merchandise, traders, and land speculators. As soon as the war was over, the effects of this began to be seen in the growing up of new western states. Indiana was added to the Union in 1816, Mississippi in 1817, Illinois in 1818, Alabama in 1819. With this westward growth, a new and startling question was suddenly to spring up and disturb the quiet of the "era of good feeling."

It will be noticed that, in the admission of the above-named states to the Union, a kind of balance was preserved between North and South; Mississippi was a counterweight to Indiana, and Alabama ^{Keeping the balance.} to Illinois. This was not an accident. It was intended to keep the balance as even as possible between the slave states and the states which had no slaves. Let us see why this was thought to be necessary.

Before the Revolution, all the colonies had negro slaves. In Queen Elizabeth's time, nobody realized the wickedness of slavery, and so all the colonies started with it. But in the colonies north of Maryland there was little for negroes to do that could not better be done by white men; so there was no demand for negro labor, and slavery was gradually abolished with no difficulty. But in the South it was different. Cheap negro labor was in great demand for the cultivation of rice and indigo, cotton and tobacco; and everybody took it for granted that negroes would not work except as slaves. This feeling was strongest in South Carolina and Georgia. Nevertheless, there was a good deal of opposition to slavery, even in such slave states as Virginia, and in Washington's time it was believed that slavery, if let alone, would gradually die of itself. ^{Slavery expected to die out.} The

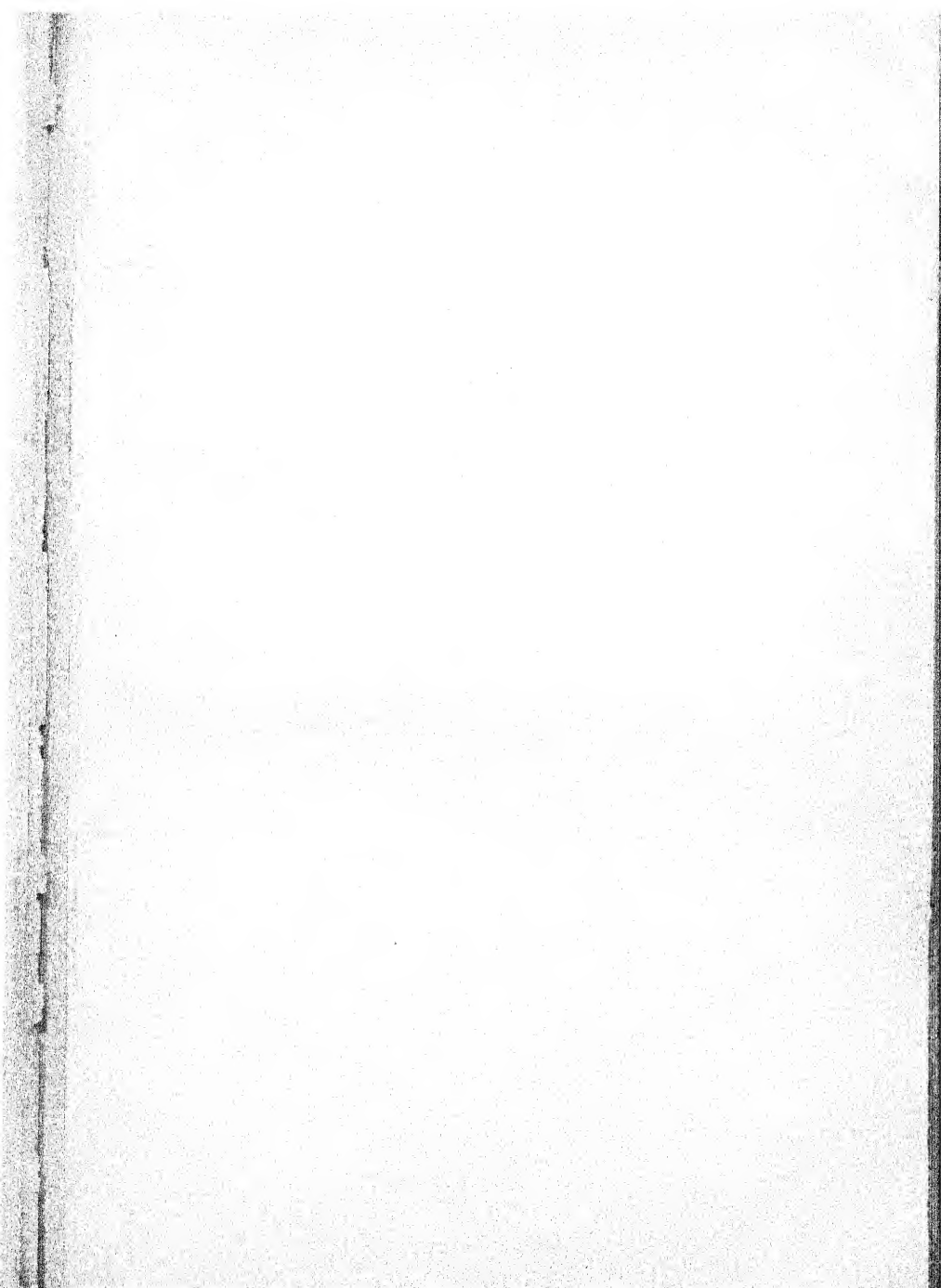
Constitution gave to the United States government no right to interfere with slavery in states where it was already established. Some compromises were made in the Constitution which settled the slavery question for the whole country, as it was then confined to the east of the Mississippi River.

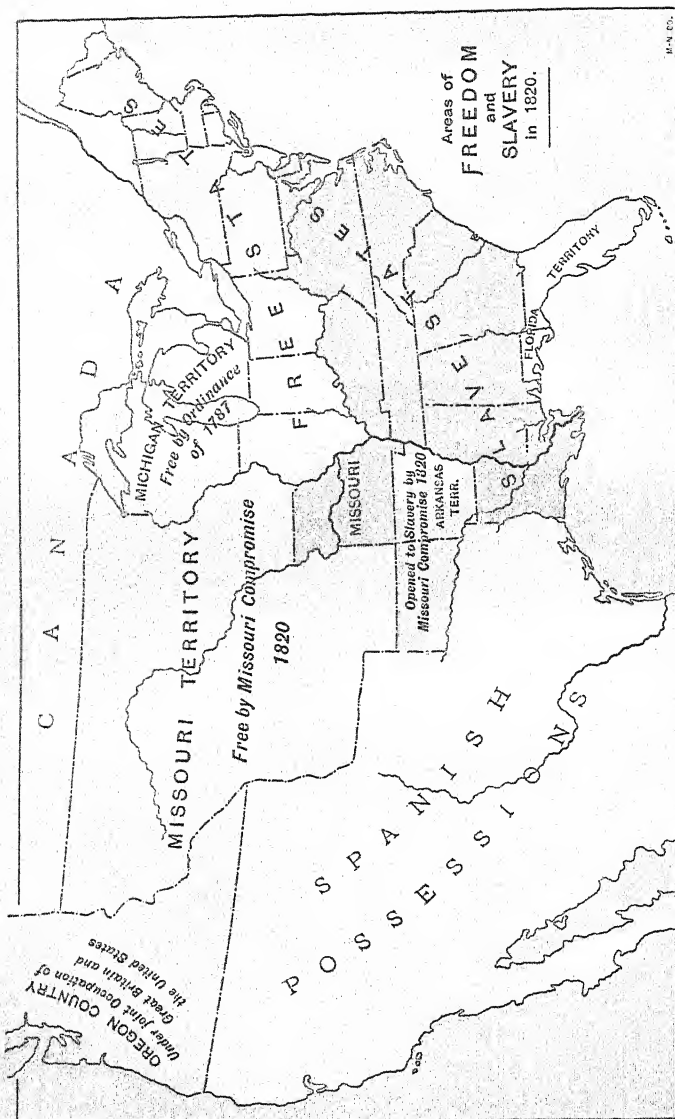
But the institution of slavery, instead of dying out, suddenly took on new and vigorous life. The invention of steam-driven machines for spinning and weaving led to the growth of immense manufacturing factories in England, and every year there was a greater demand for cotton to be sent across the ocean and made into cloth. The country along the shores of the Gulf of Mexico became almost wholly devoted to raising cotton. This was greatly helped by the cotton gin, a very simple machine for cleaning the cotton fibre from the seed, invented, in 1793, by Eli Whitney. This increased the demand for slave labor, and made southerners anxious to defend the institution of slavery against possible attacks from the North. Thus, it became necessary to keep the representation in Congress as evenly balanced as possible; and so, as new states were admitted into the Union, we see slave states and free states alternating, as, for example, when Mississippi counterbalanced Indiana, and Alabama served as an equipoise for Illinois.

The territory northwest of the Ohio River—out of which have been made the five great states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin—was first organized as a territory by the Continental Congress, in 1787. It was then national domain; that is, it belonged to the United States as a nation, and had no other government except what was made for it by Congress. The famous Ordinance of 1787,

Slavery
takes on
new life.

The Ordinance of
1787.





which organized that territory, prohibited slavery forever within its limits, and so all the states north of the Ohio came into the Union as free states. The Ohio River was the boundary line between freedom and slavery for black men.

This boundary line ended at the Mississippi River; in what way should it be continued beyond? The vast Louisiana territory was national domain. The first state made from it was Louisiana, which was admitted as a slave state, in 1812, without formidable opposition from the North. Now if the next state had been as far north as Minnesota, it might have been admitted as a free state without formidable opposition from the South. But it happened that the next state to be formed was Missouri. Just at that time, Maine, which had been, ever since 1692, a sort of appendage to Massachusetts, was asking for admission to the Union. The southern members of Congress refused to consent to the admission of Maine unless the northern members should allow Missouri to come in as a slave state. There was a great discussion over this question, which was settled, in 1820, by the famous Missouri Compromise. By this arrangement, Missouri came into the Union as a slave state, but Congress took the parallel of $36^{\circ} 30'$ as a dividing line through the rest of the Louisiana purchase, and prohibited slavery forever to the north of that line. That parallel was thenceforth known as the "Missouri Compromise Line." The person to whom most credit was due for the compromise was Henry Clay. It averted serious trouble between North and South on the slavery question for nearly thirty years, but it did not satisfy everybody. Some southerners maintained that Congress had no power to prohibit slavery in the national domain.

The Missouri Compromise.

The election of 1824.

In the next election there were four candidates for the presidency, all called Republicans. They were John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts; Henry Clay, of Kentucky; William Crawford, of Georgia; and Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee. The latter was the most popular candidate, on account of his great victory over the British. He was also a man of humble birth, without education or other early advantages, and

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.¹

many persons wished to see such a man in the White House instead of such aristocratic gentlemen as had hitherto been our presidents. So Jackson had the greatest number of electoral votes, but no one had a majority, and the election was decided by the House of Representatives. The House chose Adams for president.

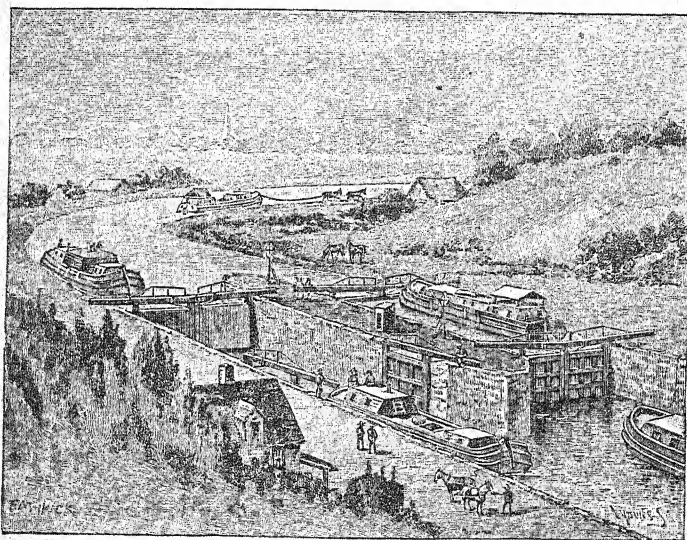
¹ From the *National Portrait Gallery*, vol. iv.

Administration of John Quincy Adams.

National Republican: 1825-1829.

119. New Issues and a New Division of Parties. The Missouri Compromise quieted the slavery question for a while; but other questions coming up between 1820 and 1830 brought about a new division of parties. The first question related to what were called internal improvements. As the

Internal
improve-
ments.



A CANAL WITH LOCKS.

settled country expanded westward, better means of communication were needed; there was a growing demand for new roads and canals, and for the improvement of rivers and harbors. One canal was finished in 1825, and the effects were great and immediate. It

was the Erie Canal, connecting Lake Erie with the Hudson River. In 1820, it cost \$88 to carry a ton of freight from Albany to Buffalo; after the Erie Canal was finished, that ton could be carried for \$22.50, and the price went on falling till it reached \$6.50. That simple fact made central New York a great highway, and caused large cities to grow up there, and made it easy for emigrants to push on westward into the woods of Michigan. Thus, the great movement of population from New England into the Northwest was immensely stimulated, and New York became the most populous state in the Union instead of Virginia.

Some people thought it would be a good plan to have all parts of the country brought into close communication by a regular system of roads and canals, and that these should be constructed by the national government and paid for by taxation. There were other people who equally approved of building roads and canals, but thought it had much better be done by private enterprise, aided perhaps by the state governments. They disapproved of having it done by the national government.

During the war of 1812-15, it had become difficult to obtain manufactured goods from foreign countries, and in some cases articles of inferior quality had begun to be made in the United States. After the war, manufacturers began to insist upon having high duties put upon many foreign goods in order to raise the price, so that Americans might find it cheaper to buy American goods. A tariff framed for such a purpose was called a "protective tariff," since its design was to protect American manufacturers against foreign competition. A tariff framed without reference to such protection, but purely in order to obtain revenue

for the government, is called a "tariff for revenue only." Some authorities maintain that any tariff which should yield to the government a sufficient revenue would incidentally afford to our manufacturers all the protection they need. That is more or less what people have in mind when they speak about a "tariff for revenue with incidental protection."

In Quincy Adams's time, manufacturers generally, who were mostly in the northern and eastern states, wanted the tariff duties to be made as high as possible. But the southern people, devoted entirely to agriculture, wished to obtain foreign goods as cheaply as possible, and, therefore, favored a low tariff.

Hamilton's Bank of the United States had been established in 1791 on a charter which expired in 1811. It was again set going in 1816 on a new twenty years' charter. There was always much opposition to such a bank; many feared it would get dragged into politics and become an engine of corruption. The charter of the bank was to expire in 1836, and there was sure to be fierce opposition to its renewal.

As a general rule, the people who favored internal improvements at the national expense favored also a high tariff and the national bank. During Adams's administration, they became distinguished as National Republicans, because they were ready to increase the powers of the national government. Their opponents, formerly called by the common name of Democratic Republicans, dropped the latter part of the name, and were thenceforth known simply as Democrats. They denied that the national government had any constitutional authority to build roads and canals, or to impose a tariff for any other purpose than reve-

The United
States
Bank.

Democrats
and Na-
tional Re-
publicans.

nue, or to charter such a bank as that which Hamilton had founded. On the other hand, the National Republicans maintained that the Elastic Clause conferred upon the national government the right to do all these things.¹

In the first trial of strength, the National Republicans won two decisive victories in Congress on the tariff question. The tariff bill passed in 1824 was highly protective, and that of 1828 still more so. The latter tariff gave offense to many people, especially in the South; its enemies called it the "tariff of abominations."

In the next election, Adams and Jackson were the two candidates for the presidency. If they had been the only two candidates in 1824, Jackson would have been elected. In 1824, Adams had 84 electoral votes, while the other 177 were scattered among three candidates. In 1828, Adams had 83 votes, while Jackson had 178, and was elected.

The elec-
tion of
1828.

Jackson's Administrations.

* *Democratic: 1829-1837.*

120. The Spoils System. Public opinion in America was all the time growing more and more democratic, and it was a common notion that there was something very democratic, and, therefore, meritorious, in what was called "rotation in office." Jackson was the first president to apply this principle to small federal officials, such as postmasters and revenue collectors, whose work

¹ The Constitution also authorizes Congress to lay and collect duties, to provide for the general welfare of the United States; and to regulate commerce with foreign nations (Art. I., section viii., clauses 1, 3); and the National Republicans held that these grants conveyed the power of laying protective duties.

has properly no connection with politics. From 1789 to 1829, the number of removals of civil service officials had averaged less than two each year. During the year 1829, Jackson turned at least 2,000 men out of office (including subordinate clerks), and filled their places with his own adherents. This practice has been continued by all subsequent presidents, although not with equal thoroughness. In this way there began with Jackson the bad habit of using public offices as rewards for partisan political services, a habit which has

ANDREW JACKSON.¹

done more to degrade and corrupt public life in our country than all other circumstances taken together. Yet Jackson was a thoroughly honorable man, and had no idea of the harm that was to come from such a practice. It came to be called the Spoils System, from the remark of a United States senator, that political warfare seemed to be conducted on the principle that "to the victors belong the spoils."

121. Nullification. If Jackson did incalculable harm to the country by introducing the Spoils System, he did incalculable good by the prompt and determined stand which he made against nullification. We have observed that the tariff of 1828 was extremely unpopular in the South. One of the greatest of southern statesmen, the illustrious John Caldwell Calhoun, of South

¹ From Parton's *Life of Andrew Jackson*.



HENRY CLAY.



JOHN C. CALHOUN.

Carolina, now maintained the right of any state to decide for itself whether an act of Congress were unconstitutional or not; if the state should decide such an act to be unconstitutional, it might declare it to be null and void, and might resist its execution within the limit of the state. This would be nullifying an act of Congress. It was feared that South Carolina would proceed, in accordance with Calhoun's doctrine, to attempt to nullify the tariff of 1828, and refuse to allow the duties levied by it to be collected in her ports. Such an action would be a long step toward breaking up the Federal Union.

Early in 1830, Senator Hayne, of South Carolina, announced the theory of nullification in a very powerful speech in the United States Senate. He was answered by Daniel Webster, senator from Massachusetts, in one of the greatest speeches in the English language. Such a speech was in itself proof that love for the Union had increased very much since Washington's presidency; it did much to intensify that love, and served as a watchword for years to come.

The president was known to be hostile to protective tariffs, but those of the nullifiers who looked for sympathy from him were disappointed. On April 13, 1830, some Democrats in Washington gave a dinner in commemoration of Jefferson's birthday, and Jackson was present. One or two toasts were given which hinted at nullification, when Jackson suddenly got up and volunteered a toast, "Our Federal Union; it must be preserved!" This was an unexpected bomb-shell for the nullifiers.

Jackson's
attitude.



DANIEL WEBSTER.

During the year 1832, a new tariff bill was passed, somewhat modifying that of 1828, but failing to satisfy the South. For the election of that autumn, the presidential candidates were nominated for the first time in national conventions. Before that time, it was customary to nominate them by a party caucus in Congress, or by state legislatures, or by special local conventions. In 1832, there were three party nominations. One was that of the Anti-Mason party. In 1826, one William Morgan, in western New York, who had published a little book exposing some secrets of Freemasonry, mysteriously disappeared, and was supposed to have been murdered by Freemasons. This aroused great excitement, and led to the formation of a party designed to exclude all Freemasons from office. The Anti-Masons nominated William Wirt, of Virginia, for president. The National Republicans nominated

The elec-
tion of
1832.

Henry Clay. The Democrats nominated Jackson. In the election, South Carolina passed by all these candidates, and gave her 11 votes to John Floyd, of Virginia; Wirt got the 7 votes of Vermont; Clay got 49 votes; and Jackson 219.

This great victory made Jackson's position very strong. In December, a state convention in South Carolina declared the tariff of 1832 null and void, forbade the collection of duties at any port in the state, and threatened, if interfered with in these proceedings, to secede from the Union altogether. Jackson immediately issued a proclamation warning the people of South Carolina that any attempt to resist the Federal laws would be put down; he sent Lieutenant David Farragut with a naval force to Charleston harbor, and made it clear that the army would be used if necessary. Soon afterward, through the efforts of Henry Clay, a tariff with lower duties, known as the Compromise Tariff, was passed, and to the mixture of threat with persuasion the nullifiers yielded. A great danger was averted for the time, and a precedent of immense value was established by Jackson's prompt and decisive action.

122. Overthrow of the United States Bank. Jackson's hostility to the bank had been shown throughout his first term of office. In 1832, he vetoed the bill for its re-charter. In 1833, he ordered that public money should no longer be deposited in this bank, but distributed among sundry state banks. In the way in which he did this he probably exceeded his constitutional powers, and the rest of his administration was largely consumed in a quarrel with Congress, in which, as in all his contests, he finally came off victorious. The Senate passed a resolution of censure upon him; his ablest friend in that

Defeat of
nullifica-
tion.

body, Thomas Benton, senator from Missouri, persisted in urging that the censure should be expunged, and, after a long struggle, he carried his point, early in 1837.

The National Republicans, led by Clay, maintained that in his removal of the public deposits from the bank

the president was usurping arbitrary power and overriding constitutional checks. In the South there were many people who did not approve of nullification, but thought that the president had no right to call for military force to suppress it. These people were called "State Rights" men, and one of their principal leaders was



THOMAS HART BENTON.¹

John Tyler, of Virginia. They were, in general, opposed to a high tariff, a national bank, and internal improvements, and, therefore, agreed with the National Republicans in nothing except hostility to the president. But in mutual opposition to Jackson and his supporters, these two groups of men, the followers of Clay and the followers of Tyler, began to be drawn together. In 1834, the National Republicans began to call themselves Whigs, on the ground that Jackson was a kind of tyrant whom they opposed just as Whigs of an earlier time had opposed George III. This name pleased the Tyler men, who presently called themselves "State Rights Whigs."

Formation
of the
Whig
party.

These northern and southern wings of the new Whig party had not quite come together in 1836. The State

¹ From Benton's *Thirty Years' View*.

Rights men nominated Hugh White, of Tennessee, for president, and John Tyler for vice-president. The northern Whigs nominated William Henry Harrison, a plain, honest soldier without much politics about him. The Democrats nominated Martin Van Buren, who obtained 170 electoral votes against 124 for all other candidates, and was elected.

The elec-
tion of
1836.

Van Buren's Administration.

Democratic: 1837-1841.

123. A New Era of Progress. The ten years, 1830-40, were remarkable as the beginning of a new era of progress throughout the civilized world. Of the many wonderful things that were done, we have room to mention only very few. There was a man then in England whose genius did more for roads and travel than all the governments on earth could do. Roads with fixed rails, called tramways, had been in some use about mines, for drawing loads of coal.



GEORGE STEPHENSON.¹

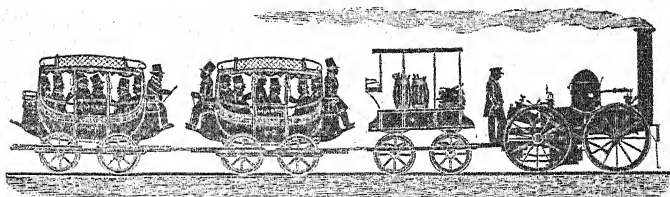
Steam engines had been for some time in use in boats and in factories. George Stephenson devised a steam engine that could run on wheels along a railway and drag carriages after it. Some people smiled at this wonderful invention, and one member of a parliamentary committee tried to quiz the inventor:

The loco-
motive.

¹ From Appleton's *Dictionary of Mechanics*, i. 369.

"Suppose, Mr. Stephenson, that a cow were to get in front of your engine moving at full speed, what would happen?" If this bright man expected to hear a reply that the engine would probably be upset, he was disappointed. Mr. Stephenson was a Northumberland man, with a strong accent, and his reply was, "It wad be vera bad for the coo!"

The inventor of the railroad ought to be ranked among the chief builders of the American Union. We can now



ONE OF THE FIRST RAILWAY TRAINS IN AMERICA.¹

go from New York to Portland in Oregon in less time than it would have taken us, in Quincy Adams's presidency, to go from New York to Portland in Maine. Think of the poor little wagons of those days struggling over muddy roads with their farm produce or parcels of merchandise, and then think of the enormous freight trains now rushing night and day from end to end of the United States! How snug and compact they make this vast country, and how much easier to govern! Railroads, too, enlarge people's minds, for ease of travel and commerce brings us into more frequent contact with other parts of the world, and

The blessings of railroads.

¹ Taken from a facsimile of the original drawing, which is now in the possession of the Connecticut Historical Society. This train was run on the Mohawk and Hudson railroad. The first excursion trip was made from Albany to Schenectady, on August 9, 1831. The locomotive was the third built in America for actual use.

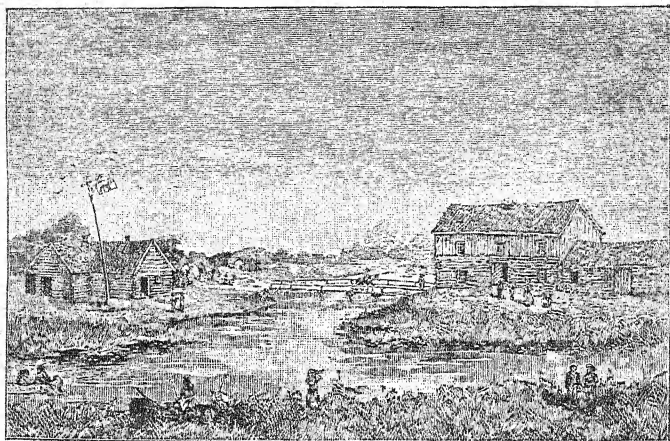
tends to rub off our prejudices and antipathies. In 1830, there were 23 miles of railroad in the United States; by 1840, there were 2818 miles, and for the next twenty years, the figures doubled every five years. They soon began to be as important as steamboats in extending our settlements westward, and after a while they became far more important.

In 1836, anthracite coal was successfully used in producing steam, and, in the same year, John Ericsson invented the screw propeller, which required much less fuel than the paddle wheel. In 1838, steamships began making regular trips across the Atlantic, and it was not long before this began to increase our population by the increased influx of laborers from Europe. Then there were labor-saving machines, such as the McCormick reaper, invented in 1834, and the Nasmyth steam hammer, in 1838; and it was in 1836 that the Patent Office had so much work to do that it was made a distinct bureau. In 1830, the city of New York was more than two centuries old, and its population had lately passed 200,000, while Brooklyn had about 12,000; the new and sudden growth was to carry the population of those cities within another sixty years to nearly two and a half millions. Chicago, now a city of more than a million, was then a mere village in the wilderness, and on the outskirts of civilization. Along with other great inventors and inventions, it is especially to George Stephenson and the railroad that Chicago owes her wonderful growth.

Side by side with this colossal invention, we may name a little one. Many persons are still living who can remember when it was sometimes necessary to go to one's neighbors to borrow the means of lighting the kitchen fire. Friction matches

Ocean traf-
fic and
other signs
of pro-
gress.

Friction
matches.

A VIEW OF CHICAGO IN 1832.¹

were unknown till 1829. A few years afterward (1835), while the invention was still new, some ill-disposed persons sought to hinder the business of a meeting of Democrats in New York by suddenly putting out the lights; but some of the company present had "locofoco matches" in their pockets, and the lamps were at once lighted again; and such an impression did this little incident make on the public mind that for about ten years the Democrats were very commonly called "Locofocos."

124. The Commercial Panic of 1837. The rapid development of western lands since 1820 led to a vast

¹ This drawing, made by Mr. George Davis, a well-known citizen of Chicago, is a faithful landscape of the locality at the junction of the two branches of the Chicago River, then called Wolf's Point.

The building on the left was the Wolf Tavern, where General Scott made his headquarters during the Black Hawk War. That on the right was the Miller House. They were used, as necessities might require, for Sunday services, or as schoolhouses, taverns, or private residences. Except the fort, they were the most notable buildings of the place.

amount of wild speculation, and this was made worse by our banking system, which had never been very sound. Too much paper money was afloat. After 1830, the building of railroads intensified speculation into a craze, and further harm was done, in 1833, by Jackson's violent distribution of the public deposits. In 1837, there came a tremendous commercial crash, the

Wild speculation.

worst this country has ever known. All over the country the banks suspended specie payments, thousands of families were ruined, and laborers were deprived of work.



MARTIN VAN BUREN.¹

People thought that government ought to try to cure these evils. Some clamored for an issue of paper money; others wanted to have the bank reestablished.

But President Van Buren believed that government should meddle with commercial business as little as possible. In financial matters, his ability was very great, and the principal achievement of his administration was the divorce of bank and state.

The divorce of bank and state.

By Van Buren's "Sub-Treasury System" — which, after some vicissitudes, was finally established in 1846, and is still in force — the public revenues are not deposited in any bank, but are paid over on demand to the treasury department by the collectors. This separation of the government from banking was an achievement of great and permanent value.

¹ After a painting by Holman.

The troubles of 1837 had not passed out of men's minds in 1840, and undoubtedly had much to do with the result of the election. Northern and southern Whigs were now combined, and nominated as their candidates Harrison and Tyler. As Harrison, the hero of Tippecanoe, had lived in a log cabin and had hard cider on his table, much was made of these circumstances in the campaign, and Van Buren was reviled as a heartless aristocrat with a silver tea service. In the election, "Tippecanoe and Tyler too," as they were called in one of the campaign songs, had 234 votes to Van Buren's 60, and were elected. There was a third candidate, James Birney, representing opposition to negro slavery, but he got no electoral votes.

The elec-
tion of
1840.

The Harrison-Tyler Administration.

Whig: 1841-1845.

125. Leading Events in Tyler's Administration.



WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.¹

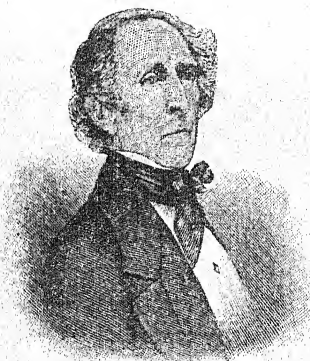
In a month after the inauguration, President Harrison died, and Tyler be-
The death of Harrison.
 came president.

This unexpected event led to a quarrel which partially broke up the Whig party. President Tyler was as much opposed to high tariffs, internal improvements, and a national bank as Jackson himself. He

¹ From the *National Portrait Gallery*, vol. iii.

differed from the Democrats only in not being willing to use military force to put down nullification, and in disapproving of some of Jackson's theories. On the other hand, Clay, the leader of the northern Whigs, wished to restore the bank and high tariffs. The result was a great struggle between Clay and Tyler, which drove the latter away from the Whigs and over toward the Democrats. Tyler was victorious on the questions at issue, and the attempts to restore the bank and high tariffs were decisively defeated.

The breach
between
Clay and
Tyler.



JOHN TYLER.¹

here deserve mention. In Rhode Island, the old charter of 1662 (§ 53) was still in force. Its grant of suffrage was felt to be too limited, and its distribution of representatives in the legislature had come to be unfair. In 1841, a new constitution was adopted, but by mass conventions, not by those who were entitled

to vote under the ancient charter. Accordingly, when a new governor, Dorr, was elected under the new constitution, the old government refused to acknowledge him. Another new constitution, adopted with more regard to law, was set to work in 1843. Meanwhile, Dorr, who had tried to seize the state arsenal, was convicted of treason, but pardoned. This affair was known as Dorr's Rebellion.

Dorr's Re-
bellion.

¹ From Williams's *Presidents of the United States*.

Troubles in New York grew out of some tenants of the old patroon estates (§ 59) refusing to pay their rent, which was the veriest trifle in amount, — one day's work in a year, with three or four fowls and a barrel or so of flour. But it was a queer relic of old European feudal customs, and was unpopular. The disturbances came to an end in 1846.

The Anti-Renters.

A man named Joseph Smith had shown a book which he said had been revealed to him supernaturally. It is known as the Book of Mormon, and its style was suggested by the English version of the Old Testament. With this document in hand, Smith founded a religious sect which attempted, in 1840, to make a settlement at Nauvoo, in Illinois. In 1844, the neighbors forcibly broke up this Mormon settlement and killed Smith. After some vicissitudes, a company of these Mormons, led by Brigham Young, made their solitary way out to the Salt Lake valley, where, by skillful irrigation, they converted a desert spot into a garden. There they founded Salt Lake City, and, for a while, established polygamy.

The Mormons.

By the treaty of 1783, which ended the Revolutionary War, some uncertainty had been left as to the boundary between Maine and the adjacent British provinces. This and sundry other matters of dispute with Great Britain were satisfactorily settled in a treaty negotiated, in 1842, by Daniel Webster and Lord Ashburton.

The Ashburton treaty.

The Oregon question, which the Ashburton treaty did not settle, gives us a vivid idea of the wonderful westward expansion of the United States since the end of the last war with England, in 1815. Both Great Britain and the United States laid claim to the portion of the Pacific coast between California, which

The Oregon question.

belonged to Mexico, and Alaska, which belonged to Russia. Since 1818, it had been held as a sort of neutral ground, subject to the joint control of Great Britain and the United States. But by 1842 the American stream of westward migration was just beginning to overflow into the beautiful and fertile Oregon country, and so it became a serious question to whom that country should belong. At first, the Americans claimed the whole, up to the parallel of $54^{\circ} 40'$, the southern boundary of Alaska. For a time the war cry was "Fifty-four forty or fight," but at length, in 1846, it was agreed to divide the territory at the forty-ninth parallel. The northern portion became British Columbia; out of the southern portion were made, in course of time, the three noble states of Oregon, Washington, and Idaho.

126. The Controversy over Slavery Extension. It was becoming clear that the North had much more room at command for planting new free states than the South for planting new slave states. In 1836, Arkansas was admitted as a slave state, and, in 1837, Michigan was admitted to balance it. Then the South had no more room for expansion, for the Indian Territory¹ blocked up all the space left south of the Missouri Compromise line; whereas, to the north of that line there was room enough for a dozen states. Manifestly, the North was destined soon to outweigh the South in Congress, and the South feared that sooner or later the North would attempt to abolish slavery.

This fear was natural. The spirit of reforming

¹ Into this territory, which was organized in 1834, had been moved various tribes from east of the Mississippi River. Some, such as the Cherokees, were fast becoming civilized. Some troubles had been connected with the ousting of Indians from their old lands, as the Black Hawk War in the Northwest, in 1832, and the Seminole War in Florida, in 1835.

Slavery
expansion
blocked.

abuses of all sorts was growing; and along with the improvement of prisons and asylums and poorhouses, along with reform of the criminal law and the growth of charitable societies, assaults began to be made upon negro slavery. The little band of abolitionists began an agitation which they were determined should not stop so long as slavery endured. ^{The abolitionists.}

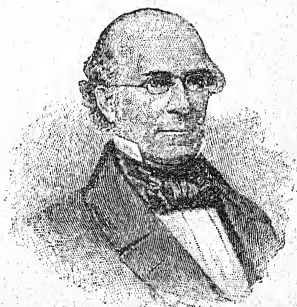
The leader of the abolitionists was a printer and editor, William Lloyd Garrison, who was ably supported by the silver-tongued orator, Wendell Phillips, and the learned and powerful preacher, Theodore Parker. At Washington, in the House of Representatives, the subject of slavery was seldom allowed to rest in quiet; for Ex-President John Quincy Adams was a member of the House from 1831 till his death in 1848, and the more the southern members tried to stop the discussion of slavery the more ruthlessly he carried it on.



WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.



WENDELL PHILLIPS.



THEODORE PARKER.



Emerson.



Holmes.



Whittier.



Lowell.



Hawthorne.



Irving.



Prescott.

Moreover, America was beginning to acquire literary eminence. Before 1830, Bryant, Irving, and Cooper had become distinguished, and Poe and Hawthorne had appeared on the scene. Within the next half dozen years there followed Whittier, Longfellow, Holmes, Prescott, and Emerson. Some of these writers attacked slavery, the feeling of all was hostile to it, and such an intellectual and moral awakening as they took part in was sure to become fatal to it. Eminent writers.

The southern people, therefore, in self-defense felt driven to acquire more territory. The republic of Texas was close at hand, a fine country as big as the Austro-Hungarian Empire, with Italy and Switzerland thrown in. Texas had once belonged to Mexico, but, in 1820, Moses Austin, a native of Connecticut, had obtained a grant of land there, and within a few years more than 20,000 people from the United States had settled in Texas. The government of Mexico was regarded as oppressive, and these Texans declared their state independent. In 1836, their commander, Samuel Houston, totally defeated the Mexicans under Santa Anna, in the battle of San Jacinto, and the independence of Texas was achieved.

Next year, she asked for admission to the American Union, but nothing was done about it, and for some years she was known as the "Lone Star State." At



SANTA ANNA.¹

¹ From a print in Alaman's *Méjico*, v. 687.

SAMUEL HOUSTON.¹

length, in 1844, the question came up again, and with it the slavery question. The South was determined to annex Texas, while northern opponents of slavery were opposed to the annexation.

The little anti-slavery, or "Liberty," party nominated James Birney for the presidency, and the Whigs nominated Henry Clay. The Democrats would naturally have

nominated Van Buren, but many of Tyler's pro-slavery Whigs had gone over to the Democratic party, making it more pro-slavery than before. Van Buren was opposed to the extension of slavery, so the southern delegates succeeded in defeating his nomination and putting James Knox Polk, of Tennessee, in his place. Among American presidents, Polk was the earliest instance of what politicians call a "dark horse," a candidate not widely known to the public, and kept concealed until the last moment. Birney got no electoral votes, Clay got 105, Polk got 170, and was elected.

The news of Polk's nomination, sent from Baltimore to Washington, was the first message sent in this country by the electro-magnetic telegraph, which, after some years of partial success in Germany and England, was at length perfected in America, in 1844, by Joseph Henry and Samuel Morse.

¹ From a picture in Niles's *South America and Mexico*, Hartford, 1837.

The elec-
tion of
1844.

The tele-
graph.

Polk's Administration.

Democratic: 1845-1849.

127. The War with Mexico. Texas and Florida were admitted to the Union in 1845, but they were soon balanced by two free states, Iowa, in 1846, and Wisconsin, in 1848. It was provided that, at any future time, with the consent of its own people, Texas might be divided into four states. But more southern territory was needed, and an occasion for winning it was already offered. The people of Texas held that their state extended southwestward as far as the Rio Grande, but the Mexican



JAMES KNOX POLK.¹

government refused to admit that it extended further than the Nueces River. By President Polk's order, General Zachary Taylor, with 4,000 men, marched in and took possession of the disputed strip of land between the two rivers. A Mexican army attacked him there, early in 1846, and was routed in two battles at Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma. This was the beginning of a war which lasted a year and a half. Taylor invaded Mexico and held the northern portion of the country. Kearney took possession of New Mexico, including Arizona; a small force, under Fremont, aided by the fleet, occupied California; and, finally, General Scott, landing at Vera Cruz, fought several obstinate

¹ From Jenkins's *Life of James Knox Polk*.

battles, and ended the struggle by capturing the city of Mexico, September 14, 1847. The United States soldiers vanquished the Mexicans wherever they found them and in whatever numbers. Thus, on one occasion, when Taylor had sent reinforcements to Scott, reducing his own army to about 5,000 men, Santa Anna suddenly attacked him at Buena Vista with 20,000, and was badly defeated. It was in Mexico that most of the great commanders in our Civil War had their first experience in regular military operations.

128. The New Territory Acquired from Mexico.

When peace was made with Mexico, in February, 1848, it added to the United States an enormous territory, equal in area to Germany, France, and Spain added together. Such a result had been foreseen, and ever since the war began it had been a question what should be done about allowing slavery in states formed out of this new territory. In 1846, David Wilmot, a Democratic member of Congress from Pennsylvania, proposed that slavery should be forever prohibited in the whole of the territory that was to be acquired from Mexico. This was the famous Wilmot Proviso, and it marks the turning point in the history of slavery; for, although it failed to pass both houses of Congress, it announced a policy that was soon to be victorious. In point of fact, no new slave state was ever made after Texas.

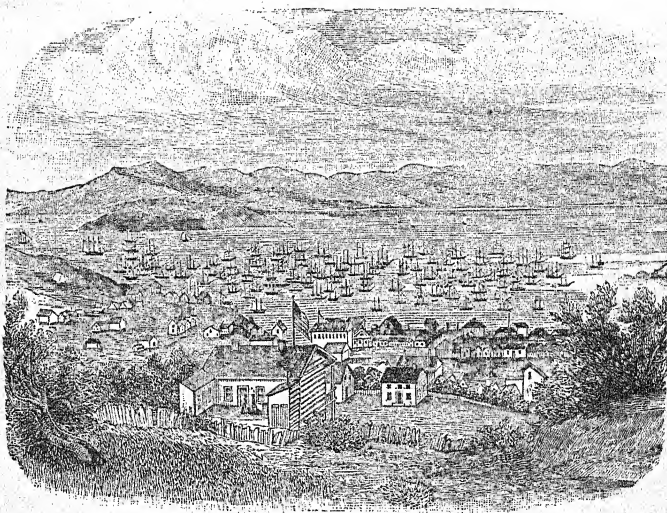
The westward migration of people rushed into California much sooner and faster than anybody had expected. Early in 1848, a workman, who was digging a mill race in the Sacramento valley, observed that the soil was full of bright particles of gold. It was not long before it was found that gold abounded in that gravelly soil. People began to rush to Cali-

The Wilmot Proviso.

California.

fornia from all parts of the world, in the hope of sudden wealth. There were many ruffians among them, but few or no negroes. In a year's time the population of California was large enough for a state, and a strong local government was needed to suppress the thieves and blackguards. For want of such a government, honest citizens were obliged to organize vigilance committees to deal quickly and sharply with criminals. In 1849, the people of California applied to Congress for admission to the Union, with a constitution forbidding slavery.

Vigilance
commit-
tees.



SAN FRANCISCO IN 1849, FROM THE HEAD OF CLAY STREET.¹

Meanwhile came the election of a new president. The Democrats nominated Lewis Cass, of Michigan, and the Whigs nominated Zachary Taylor, of Louisiana, the hero of Buena Vista. A third party, made up of

¹ From *The Annals of San Francisco*.

anti-slavery Democrats, anti-slavery Whigs, and abolitionists, was known as the Free-Soil party. It nominated Martin Van Buren for president and Charles Francis Adams (son of John Quincy Adams) for vice-president. Cass received 127 electoral votes Taylor received 163, and was elected.

TOPICS AND QUESTIONS.

115. THE CLOSE OF A WARLIKE PERIOD.
 1. What fighting came to an end in 1815?
 2. Show how the world has been more peaceful since.
 3. What new interests came in with the peace of 1815?
116. THE ERA OF GOOD FEELING.
 1. The national party now in power.
 2. The death of the Federalist party.
 3. The good feeling during Monroe's presidency.
 4. Monroe as a man.
117. MONROE'S FOREIGN POLICY.
 1. The purchase of Florida.
 2. The object of the Holy Alliance.
 3. Why the United States feared it.
 4. The doctrine of Monroe.
 5. The effect of its declaration.
118. THE UNEXPECTED GROWTH OF NEGRO SLAVERY.
 1. Thirty years of progress.
 2. The westward movement.
 3. The multiplication of steamboats.
 4. New states in consequence.
 5. The balance of slave states and free.
 6. American slavery before the Revolution.
 7. Slavery in the Constitution.
 8. Events that gave new life to slavery.
 9. How it was to be defended against possible attacks.
 10. The northwest territory.
 11. The Ordinance of 1787.
 12. The line between freedom and slavery.
 13. The Missouri Compromise.
 14. The election of 1824.

119. NEW ISSUES AND A NEW DIVISION OF PARTIES.

1. The Erie Canal and its fruits.
2. Opposing views about internal improvements.
3. A protective tariff.
4. A tariff for revenue.
5. A tariff for revenue with incidental protection.
6. Opposing views about the tariff.
7. Opposing views about the United States Bank.
8. The views of the National Republicans.
9. The views of the Democrats.
10. High tariff victories, and their effect on the South.
11. The election of 1828.

120. THE SPOILS SYSTEM.

1. The growing view about rotation in office.
2. The first application of this principle.
3. Removals from office before 1829 and after.
4. The bad results of the system.
5. The origin of the name of the system.

121. NULLIFICATION.

1. What state right did Calhoun now claim?
2. What consequence of this doctrine was feared?
3. Tell about Webster's reply to Hayne.
4. How did Jackson disappoint the nullifiers?
5. How did Jackson reveal to them his attitude?
6. Give an account of the election of 1832.
7. What did South Carolina do about the tariff of 1832?
8. In what way was the crisis met?
9. How was the danger averted?

122. OVERTHROW OF THE UNITED STATES BANK.

1. Jackson's treatment of the bank.
2. A quarrel that sprang from this treatment.
3. The resolution of censure.
4. The attitude of the National Republicans toward Jackson.
5. The attitude of the States Rights men toward Jackson.
6. A new name for these two groups.
7. The election of 1836.

123. A NEW ERA OF PROGRESS.

1. George Stephenson.
2. His locomotive.
3. The blessings of railroads.
4. Railroad building from 1830 to 1860.

5. Ocean traffic.
6. Labor-saving machinery.
7. New York and Chicago.
8. Friction matches.
9. How these matches gave a name to a great party.
124. THE COMMERCIAL PANIC OF 1837.
 1. What four causes led up to this panic?
 2. Describe the crash.
 3. What cure of these evils did some clamor for?
 4. What was Van Buren's attitude toward the matter?
 5. What was the principal achievement of his administration?
 6. Give an account of the election of 1840.
125. LEADING EVENTS IN TYLER'S ADMINISTRATION.
 1. The accession of Tyler to the presidency.
 2. The cause of the struggle between Clay and Tyler.
 3. The issue of the controversy.
 4. Dorr's Rebellion.
 5. The Anti-Renters.
 6. Joseph Smith and the Mormons.
 7. The Ashburton treaty.
 8. Oregon down to 1842.
 9. The Oregon agreement of 1846.
126. THE CONTROVERSY OVER SLAVERY EXTENSION.
 1. Arkansas and Michigan.
 2. The prospects for new free states and new slave.
 3. What the South feared, and why.
 4. The band of abolitionists.
 5. Eminent writers, and what they thought of slavery.
 6. United States settlers in Texas.
 7. The winning of Texan independence.
 8. How Texas came into United States politics.
 9. Candidates and party views in the election of 1844.
 10. The first message by telegraph.
127. THE WAR WITH MEXICO.
 1. Two slave states admitted and two free.
 2. The dispute over the Texas boundary.
 3. The acts that began the war.
 4. The campaigns of Taylor, Kearney, and Fremont.
 5. The city of Mexico captured.
 6. The battle of Buena Vista.

128. THE NEW TERRITORY ACQUIRED FROM MEXICO.

1. The magnitude of this addition.
2. The great question about it.
3. Wilmot's proposition.
4. The discovery of gold.
5. The effect of this discovery upon California.
6. Vigilance committees.
7. The election of 1848.

SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS AND DIRECTIONS.

1. What are some of the evils of war? Is there any good to offset these evils? If so, what is it? Are nations that desire peace ever forced into war? If two men have a difficulty with each other, what are feasible ways of settling it without resorting to violence? Are any of these ways applicable to nations that do not agree? Why is it more difficult for nations than for individuals to arrive at peaceable settlements? Mention some difficulties of an international sort that have been peaceably disposed of.
2. As civilization advances, will there be a growing or a diminishing tendency to engage in war, to expend money for it, to magnify its fighters, and to glory in its victories? What is civilization? Mention some country whose civilization is of a low grade, and tell why it is low. What are the signs of advancing civilization? Does an increasing earnestness for peace carry with it necessarily the reduction of armies and of wars? Why are the nations of Europe so heavily armed? May not armies and navies increase the likelihood of peace?
3. What kind of aggression has been at the bottom of most Indian wars? What is it to own land in severalty? What is it to own land in common? How did the Indians hold it? How do white people hold it? Does the fact that white people make better use of the land than the Indians, millions occupying it where the Indians numbered only thousands, justify them in dispossessing the Indians? Read Black Hawk's own account of how the Black Hawk War, in 1832, was caused; also his speech at his surrender (*Old South Leaflets*, eighth series, 1890, No. 6). Cite instances in which white people have tried to be just to Indians whose lands they have taken.
4. Read Longfellow's *The Arsenal at Springfield*. What are the

peace sentiments expressed there? Do you like them? Read Whittier's *The Angels of Buena Vista*. Quote sentiments of peace from other poets. What gives to war its glamour? What is calculated to dispel this glamour?

5. What great advantage in war and navy expenses has the United States over the nations of Europe?
6. Show how it was more difficult for southerners to oppose slavery than northerners. Show how self-interest had much to do with making the northern states free and the southern slave.
7. Give the principal facts about the ownership of Florida from its first settlement.
8. In what political parties has a nullifying, or seceding, spirit at different times been shown? In each case what has been the cause?
9. Why did the South desire a kind of balance in admitting slave states and free?
10. What was the pro-slavery objection to the Missouri Compromise? What was the anti-slavery objection?
11. For what internal or national improvements does the United States government provide to-day? To what internal improvements once advocated does it give no attention to-day?
12. What enterprises or kinds of business is it proper for the United States government to carry on? What is it manifestly unwise for it to undertake? What private enterprises are thought by some people to be fair subjects for government control? Give some reasons for each answer.
13. Mention some objections to the Spoils System. What sort of offices should be held during competency and good behavior? Why? Should they be distributed as political rewards? Should they be filled impartially on some basis of merit? What officials may properly be changed as administrations change, and why?
14. Assign striking passages from Webster's reply to Hayne to be recited or read. What use is there in declaiming such passages?
15. What is a veto? Does it necessarily defeat a measure? Why should the president be given such power? Who gave it to him? The authority for your answer?
16. What is anthracite coal? What other kinds are there? What has coal to do with United States history?

17. Suppose a business man makes larger promises to pay money than he can meet, what is the effect upon the value of his promises? Substitute a corporation, a city, a state, the United States, for the business man, and then answer the question.
18. What kind of business may a bank do (*a*) with loans, (*b*) with deposits, and (*c*) with paper money? What sort of care ought it to exercise about loaning its funds? What duty does it owe to its depositors? Read a modern bank note, and observe what it really is. May such notes be issued without limit? What have bank questions had to do with our history?
19. What was the leading feature of the old European feudal system? Under this system was the land discovered in America by Englishmen regarded as belonging to the discoverers themselves, to the English nation, or to the English sovereign? Explain and illustrate.
20. Find anti-slavery poems in the writings of Longfellow, Lowell, Holmes, and others.
21. When are compromises desirable? Is it possible to organize the government of a great people without them?
22. In accordance with the following plan, make out a table of successful and unsuccessful political parties for the eleven presidential terms from Washington to Polk, inclusive:

PRESIDENTS.	ELECTED BY WHOM.	OPPOSED BY WHOM.

What were the leading views of the successful parties mentioned above? Of the unsuccessful parties? Mention one or more of these old views, or policies, that are still subjects of political discussion? What ones have become established as undisputed parts of the administration of national affairs? What ones have failed to receive national sanction?

23. Numerous interesting topics are either lightly touched in the text or omitted altogether, such, for example, as the following:

peace sentiments expressed there? Do you like them? Read Whittier's *The Angels of Buena Vista*. Quote sentiments of peace from other poets. What gives to war its glamour? What is calculated to dispel this glamour?

5. What great advantage in war and navy expenses has the United States over the nations of Europe?
6. Show how it was more difficult for southerners to oppose slavery than northerners. Show how self-interest had much to do with making the northern states free and the southern slave.
7. Give the principal facts about the ownership of Florida from its first settlement.
8. In what political parties has a nullifying, or seceding, spirit at different times been shown? In each case what has been the cause?
9. Why did the South desire a kind of balance in admitting slave states and free?
10. What was the pro-slavery objection to the Missouri Compromise? What was the anti-slavery objection?
11. For what internal or national improvements does the United States government provide to-day? To what internal improvements once advocated does it give no attention to-day?
12. What enterprises or kinds of business is it proper for the United States government to carry on? What is it manifestly unwise for it to undertake? What private enterprises are thought by some people to be fair subjects for government control? Give some reasons for each answer.
13. Mention some objections to the Spoils System. What sort of offices should be held during competency and good behavior? Why? Should they be distributed as political rewards? Should they be filled impartially on some basis of merit? What officials may properly be changed as administrations change, and why?
14. Assign striking passages from Webster's reply to Hayne to be recited or read. What use is there in declaiming such passages?
15. What is a veto? Does it necessarily defeat a measure? Why should the president be given such power? Who gave it to him? The authority for your answer?
16. What is anthracite coal? What other kinds are there? What has coal to do with United States history?

17. Suppose a business man makes larger promises to pay money than he can meet, what is the effect upon the value of his promises? Substitute a corporation, a city, a state, the United States, for the business man, and then answer the question.
18. What kind of business may a bank do (*a*) with loans, (*b*) with deposits, and (*c*) with paper money? What sort of care ought it to exercise about loaning its funds? What duty does it owe to its depositors? Read a modern bank note, and observe what it really is. May such notes be issued without limit? What have bank questions had to do with our history?
19. What was the leading feature of the old European feudal system? Under this system was the land discovered in America by Englishmen regarded as belonging to the discoverers themselves, to the English nation, or to the English sovereign? Explain and illustrate.
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23. Numerous interesting topics are either lightly touched in the text or omitted altogether, such, for example, as the following:

- a.* The Seminole War.
- b.* Cotton and the cotton gin.
- c.* The life of Henry Clay.
- d.* The life of John C. Calhoun.
- e.* The life of Andrew Jackson.
- f.* The life of Daniel Webster.
- g.* The Erie Canal.
- h.* Labor-saving machines.
- i.* The removal of the Cherokees.
- j.* The life of any of the writers mentioned in § 126.
- k.* Events in the war for Texan independence.
- l.* The vigilance committees of California.

The teacher may add freely to the list. Let the pupil take one of these topics for study, find out for himself sources of information, and make an oral or written report upon it. However full the reading may be, the report should be brief and simple. Indeed, the exigencies of the class room may make it desirable for the teacher to devise some simple form of certificate for the pupil to fill out, in which it is enough for him to tell what subject he has been looking up, what book and writer he has consulted, and what matter, by pages, chapters, or otherwise, he has read.

CHAPTER XV.

SLAVERY AND SECESSION. 1850-1865.

The Taylor-Fillmore Administration.

Whig: 1849-1853.

129. Review of the Situation as to Slavery. The story of the disputes over slavery, which led to the Civil War, is inseparably connected with the story of the westward expansion of the United States. At the point at which we have now arrived, it is desirable to pause for a moment and take a brief review of the situation, in order that we may see clearly how one event led to another.

It will be remembered that in 1787, when our Federal Constitution was framed, the territorial domain of the United States was bounded on the west by the Mississippi River. In the region north of the Ohio River, negro slavery was prohibited by the Ordinance of 1787. The territory lying south of the Ohio River and west of the original states of Virginia, the two Carolinas, and Georgia, at first belonged to those states, or was claimed by them; and when those states ceded their claims to the United States, it was with the understanding that the United States should not interfere with the existing custom of slavery in that region. The Ohio River was thus the dividing line, north of which slavery was prohibited and south of which it was allowed.

Areas of
freedom
and slavery
in 1787.

Our Federal Constitution nowhere uses the word "slave," but in the three places where it refers to slavery it uses some other expression.¹ Three concessions were made to the slaveholders, which it was believed would prevent any occasion for disputes. *First*, in apportioning representation in Congress, the slave states were allowed to count three fifths of their slaves as population. This arrangement increased the weight of the southern states in the national house of representatives. For example, if a southern state had half as many blacks as whites in its population, then every 10,000 whites in that state would count as 10,000 plus three fifths of the 5,000 blacks; in other words, 10,000 whites in that state would balance 13,000 whites in a non-slaveholding state. In South Carolina there were at least as many blacks as whites; therefore in South Carolina every 10,000 whites counted for as much as 10,000 plus three fifths of 10,000, that is to say, as much as 16,000 whites in Massachusetts. *Secondly*, the national government was not to be allowed to prohibit the importation of slaves from Africa before the year 1808. *Thirdly*, it was stipulated that any fugitive slave, escaping into a free state, should not thereby acquire freedom, but should be delivered up to his master on demand.

These concessions to slaveholders made the Federalist party for some time strong in South Carolina. They were quite generally supposed to have settled the slavery question once for all. But the purchase of the

¹ Thus in article I., section ii., clause 3, after speaking of "free persons," it goes on to mention "other persons." In article I., section ix., clause 1, we read of "such persons as any of the states . . . shall think proper to admit." In article IV., section ii., clause 3, occurs the phrase "person held to service or labor." But in the thirteenth amendment, added in 1865, abolishing slavery, the word "slavery" is used.

Louisiana territory in 1803 (§ 110) prepared the way for disputes, and the first dispute came, as we have seen, when the state of Missouri was about to come into the Union. It was settled in 1820 by the Missouri Compromise (§ 118), which provided that thenceforth, westward to the Rocky Mountain boundary, slave states might be formed from United States territory south of the parallel of 36° 30' (the southern boundary of Missouri), but that none but free states could be formed north of that line.

Effect of
the Louisi-
ana pur-
chase.

By this compromise the South gained the point immediately in dispute, the admission of Missouri as a slave state; but it left the advantage in the long run greatly in favor of the North. Below the compromise line there was room only for Arkansas and one good-sized state to the west of it,¹ and in 1834 this latter space was appropriated as Indian Territory; whereas the Missouri Territory, above the compromise line, was so vast that nine large states (with parts of others) have since been carved from it. Therefore in order to maintain the balance between North and South, as the westward expansion went on, the slaveholders felt it necessary to acquire more territory. This need was partly met by the annexation of Texas, and there followed the war with Mexico and the conquest of the vast country between Texas and Oregon from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean. At the same time the settlement of the Oregon question (§ 125) added greatly to the area available for the North.

Why the
Missouri
Compro-
mise failed
to satisfy
the South.

This new expansion to the westward at once re-opened the whole slavery question, and the resulting disputes went on without ceasing until the defeat of the South in the great Civil War put an end to slavery forever.

¹ See the colored map opposite page 311.

The question was at first made a pressing one by the discovery of gold in California. The sudden and rapid peopling of that country made it necessary without delay to consider its petition to be admitted to the Union. Resort was had to compromise, as before, but the situation was fast becoming such as to make a satisfactory compromise impossible.

Effect of
the Mexi-
can War.

130. The Compromises of 1850. At first some people had thought that the slavery question could be finally settled by prolonging the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific coast, and allowing slavery to the south of it. Any such scheme was shown to be impossible when California applied for admission as a free state.

The admis-
sion of Cal-
ifornia.



ZACHARY TAYLOR.¹

A considerable part of California lies south of the parallel of $36^{\circ} 30'$. If it were to be admitted as a free state, the South demanded some kind of equivalent. After long and heated debate, the question was settled by the adoption of a group of compromises proposed by the venerable Henry Clay, whose Missouri Compro-

mise had for thirty years done so much to preserve the union in peace.

The most essential points in the compromises were thus balanced against each other: (1) California was admitted as a free state, and, in return, two new territories — Utah (including Nevada) and New Mexico

¹ From Howard's *General Taylor*.

(including Arizona) — were organized without the Wil-
mot Proviso; (2) The slave trade was abolished in the
District of Columbia, and,
in return, a stringent law
was passed for the arrest
of fugitive slaves in the
northern states. Many
people believed that these
compromises would set
the slavery question at
rest.

In July, 1850, President
Taylor died, and Vice-
President Millard Fill-
more took his place.
There was nothing more
of moment in the course of this administration, except
that a party of filibusters invaded Cuba, in
1851, in the hope of annexing it to the United
States. They were defeated, and their leader, Lopez,
was executed at Havana.

MILLARD FILLMORE.¹

In 1852, the Whigs nominated Winfield Scott, the
other hero of the Mexican War, and the Democrats
nominated Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire, a second
instance of a "dark horse." The Free-Soil
party nominated another New Hampshire man,
John Parker Hale, who obtained no electoral
votes. There was to be a wonderful change in the next
two years, as we shall see. Scott obtained 42 electoral
votes, Pierce obtained 254, and was elected. This was
the last appearance of the Whig party under that name
in a presidential election.

The elec-
tion of
1852.

¹ From Thomas & Lathrop's *Biography of Millard Fillmore*.

Pierce's Administration.

Democratic : 1853-1857.

131. The Slavery Question Uppermost. The Missouri Compromise had brought a long rest to the country,



FRANKLIN PIERCE.¹

but the compromises of 1850 stirred up strife more bitter than had been known before. The election of Pierce to the presidency came at the opening of a new era in the slavery question. Webster and Clay had just died, and in their place were to be seen, among the foremost figures at the North, Seward of New York, Chase of

Ohio, and Sumner of Massachusetts, men prepared to take a bolder stand against slavery. Calhoun had also been removed by death, and among the southern leaders, Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, was coming to the front.

The first source of irritation in the new compromises was the Fugitive Slave Law. It is true that the purpose of this measure was simply to enforce a provision which had always formed a part of the Federal Constitution. It was distinctly provided in the Constitution that a runaway slave, escaping to a free state, must be surrendered to his lawful master on demand; but legislation was needed to determine the manner in which this provision should be enforced. In 1793, it was en-

¹ From Hawthorne's *Life of Franklin Pierce*.

acted by Congress that a man claiming a fugitive slave might prove his ownership by making affidavit before either a United States court or a magistrate of the city or town where the arrest was made, and local officers, such as sheriffs or constables, might have custody of the prisoner. But with the growth of anti-slavery sentiment at the North, as slave-catching grew more and more unpopular, several northern states passed "personal liberty" laws for the protection of negroes from persons claiming them as slaves. New York, in 1840, passed an act securing jury trial to such negroes. Massachusetts and Vermont, in 1843, passed laws prohibiting state officers from taking part in the surrender of fugitives, and forbidding the use of their jails for the detention of such persons. Similar laws were passed in 1847, by Pennsylvania, and in 1848, by Rhode Island.

Personal
Liberty
laws.

These "personal liberty" laws annoyed the slaveholders, and the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 was devised in such manner as to counteract them. By this law United States commissioners were appointed, with full powers of judges, for hearing claims to fugitive slaves, and the custody and surrender of such fugitives were entrusted, not to state officers, but to United States marshals. Thus the United States government no longer called upon some single State to surrender an alleged fugitive within its limits, but it undertook to send its own officers into any State to seize upon any colored person against whom a claim might be made and to send him away into slavery. For the alleged fugitive was not allowed a jury trial; the claimant was not bound to prove that he was a runaway; a simple affidavit was enough.

The Fugi-
tive Slave
Law.

It has been argued that this refusal of a trial by jury

made the Fugitive Slave Law unconstitutional. For the alleged runaway must be either a slave or a free man. If a slave, he was property worth more than twenty dollars, and in all claims to property exceeding that amount the Constitution (amendment VII.) guarantees the right of trial by jury. If he was a free man, his right to be tried by jury in a case affecting his life or liberty was one of those common law rights reserved by the Constitution (amendment X.) to the people.

In response to the Fugitive Slave Law, several northern states passed new and stronger "personal liberty" laws, some of which went to the very verge of nullifying an act of Congress. The first attempts at arresting runaway slaves under this act excited great and growing wrath at the North, and on many occasions there were riots and rescues. Two of the most notable cases were in Boston. In 1851, a negro named Shadrach was taken from the marshal's custody by a mob consisting largely of negroes, and he succeeded in escaping to Canada. In 1854, Anthony Burns, a fugitive from Virginia, was arrested in Boston, and confined in the court-house under a strong guard. A meeting was held at Faneuil Hall to consider whether the surrender of Burns should be permitted, and meanwhile a party of citizens, led by a clergyman, Thomas Wentworth Higginson,¹ made an attempt to rescue the prisoner. A door of the court-house was battered in, and one of the deputy-marshals was killed, but the assault was unsuccessful. The United States commissioner ordered that Burns should be surrendered, and he was

Case of
Anthony
Burns.

¹ Col. Higginson, who afterward in the Civil War commanded the first regiment of negro freedmen mustered into the national service, and has long been eminent as a man of letters, was in 1854 pastor of a church in Worcester, Mass.

sent on board a United States revenue cutter. He was escorted by a strong military guard through streets filled with an angry crowd, and on the wharf a fight seemed about beginning, when the Rev. Daniel Foster exclaimed, "Let us pray!" Instantly the vast multitude uncovered their heads and listened in devout silence while poor Burns was hurried on board ship.

Probably the most effective response to the Fugitive Slave Law was the publication, in 1852, of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, by Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe. Of this novel more than half a million copies were sold within the next five years in the United States alone, and it was translated into more than twenty European and several Asiatic languages. Read everywhere by old and young, it doubtless did more than anything else ever printed to strengthen and spread the feeling of hostility to slavery. Probably more slaves escaped and fewer were returned to their masters than before the passage of the law of 1850.



HARRIET BEECHER STOWE.¹

Secret understandings were kept up between anti-slavery men from town to town, so that a fugitive slave, who had once got across the Ohio River, or Mason and Dixon's line, would be stealthily passed along from one protector to another as far as Canada, where no slave hunter could reach him. This sort of arrangement used to be called the "underground railroad."

¹ After an engraving by R. Young, from an original portrait taken about the time when *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was published.

The desire for more slave territory was shown in filibustering expeditions in the Gulf of Mexico. The attempt of Lopez upon Cuba has been already mentioned. From 1855 to 1860, William Walker, an adventurer from

Tennessee, made expeditions against Nicaragua and Honduras, but was finally captured and shot. But what was most remarkable was the

Ostend Manifesto. In 1854, the United States ministers to Great Britain, France, and Spain met together at Ostend, in Belgium, and agreed in substance to report to President Pierce that, in their opinion, the United States ought to have Cuba, even if it should be necessary to seize it by force in case of Spain's unwillingness to sell it.

132. The Kansas-Nebraska Bill. If Cuba had been added to the Union as a slave state, it might have served as a counterweight to California. But the slaveholders had more to hope from a repeal of the Missouri Compromise, which would open up all the territories to the spread of slavery. Some southern statesmen had always held the Missouri Compromise to be unconstitutional, and believed that Congress had no right to meddle with the question of slavery in the territories, any more than in the states.

But the fatal attack upon the Missouri Compromise came not from the South, but from a northern Democratic leader. Stephen Arnold Douglas was one of the senators from Illinois. For some years he had felt an interest in the wild region west of Iowa, then called the Platte country, from its principal river. California was growing rapidly, and the easiest route for people migrating thither lay through this country, being the route since followed by the Union Pacific railroad. Douglas wished to have a territorial

The Ostend Manifesto.

Senator Douglas.

government set up for the Platte country, and on this occasion he thought he saw a chance for allaying the excitement about slavery.

Why this perpetual fuss about letting slavery into the territories or keeping it out? Why not let the settlers in the territories decide such matters for themselves? When people enough have settled in a territory to apply for admission to the Union, let them decide for themselves whether they will come in as a slave state



STEPHEN ARNOLD DOUGLAS.¹

or as a free state. This theory of Douglas² was called the doctrine of "squatter sovereignty;" not Congress, but the "squatters" were to be the supreme authority on the great question. It was the principle of "local option" applied to slavery.

Squatter
sover-
eignty.

In 1854, Douglas brought in a bill for organizing two territorial governments as the territories of Kansas and Nebraska, on the principle of squatter sovereignty. Both territories lay north of 36° 30', and, therefore, the Missouri Compromise had forever prohibited slavery in them. In spite of this prohibition, the Kansas-Nebraska bill was passed, thus repealing the Missouri Compromise, and establishing squatter sovereignty in its place.

Many of those who voted for the Kansas-Nebraska bill believed that this great concession to the slavehold-

¹ From Woodward's *History of the United States*.

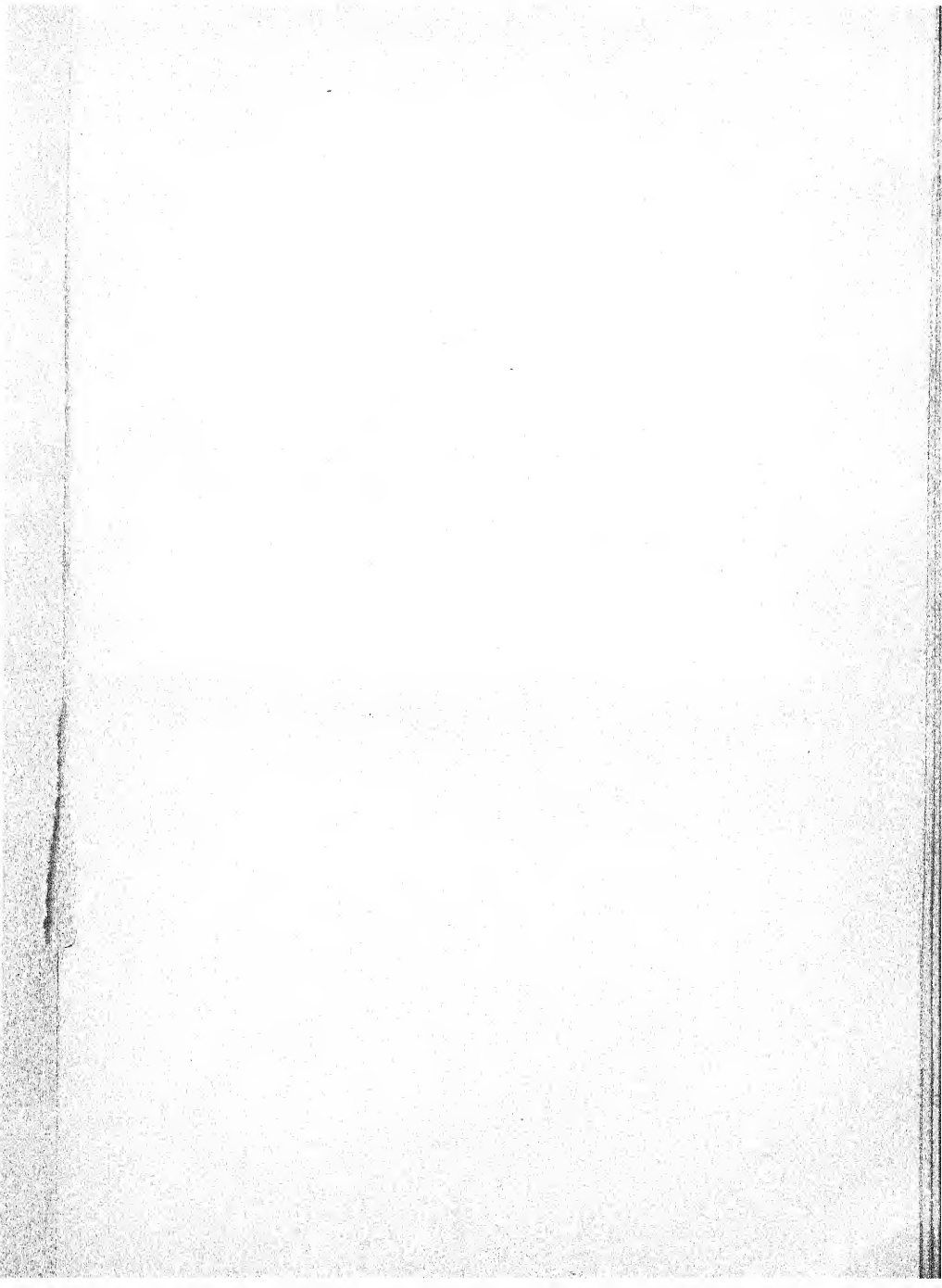
² Douglas did not invent the doctrine of squatter sovereignty, but was first to adopt and apply it on a great scale.

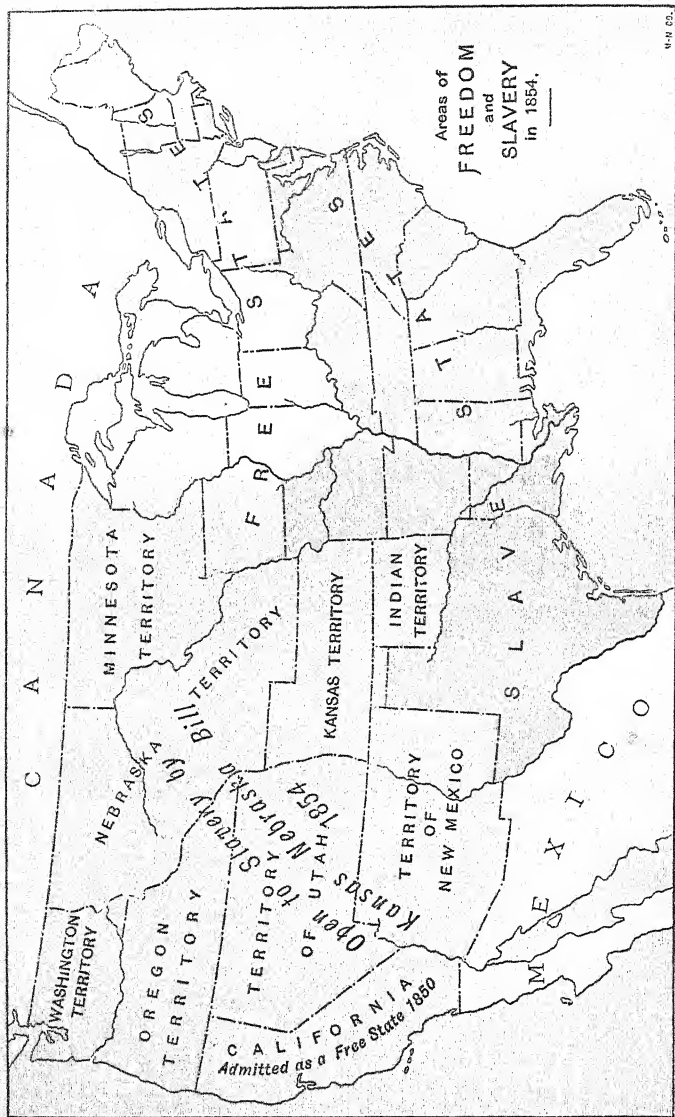
ers would at last put a stop to the agitation. Nothing could have been more short-sighted. In point of fact, it immediately solidified North and South against each other, and led speedily to the great Civil War. In the course of 1854 and 1855, all northern men of whatever party, who were resolved that slavery should extend no further, drew together under the name of "Anti-Nebraska men." They soon became organized into a party with the name "Republican." The party was made up of anti-slavery Democrats, anti-slavery Whigs, and Free-Soilers, and the principle upon which it was based was that of the Wilmot Proviso, the absolute prohibition of slavery in the territories. It did not propose to attack slavery in the slave states, and for this reason the abolitionists generally remained aloof from it. When the anti-slavery elements were taken out of the Democratic party, it became more and more subservient to southern policy, and gradually added to its ranks the pro-slavery Whigs. In those days, the Republicans were always called by their opponents "Black Republicans," as having an affinity for men with black skins.

Heretofore, settlers had moved out to the western frontier for their own private reasons. Now it had become an object with politicians to hurry settlers forward, and the competition between North and South soon led to blows. The struggle took place in Kansas because that territory was the nearest to the slave states. From Missouri and Arkansas squatters went in, while, on the other hand, anti-slavery societies in the North subscribed money to fit out parties of emigrants. The first trial of squatter sovereignty began in bloody fights between pro-slavery and anti-slavery squatters, each trying to keep the other

The Re-
publican
party.

The fight
for Kan-
sas.





out. The irregular fighting went on for three years, from 1855 to 1858; by that time, the northern settlers in Kansas were in such an overwhelming majority that all hope of making a slave state of it was abandoned.

The evil passions kindled by this strife were reflected in Congress. On May 19 and 20, 1856, Charles Sumner, senator from Massachusetts, made a powerful speech on Kansas affairs, which contained some personal allusions to Sen-

CHARLES SUMNER.¹

ator Butler, of South Carolina. Two days afterward, Butler's nephew, Preston Brooks, a representative from South Carolina, came up to Sumner while he was absorbed in work at his desk in the Senate Chamber, and beat him on the head with a heavy cane until he had nearly killed him. For three years, while Sumner was under medical treatment, his chair in the Senate remained empty. A motion was made to expel Brooks from Congress for this atrocious and cowardly act, but it failed to secure the needful two-thirds vote. On July 14 Brooks resigned his seat and went home to South Carolina, where, after three weeks of enthusiastic welcome and congratulation, he was reelected to Congress with only six dissenting votes.

133. The Know-Nothing Party. During the last

¹ From a photograph.

four years, a new but short-lived party had sprung up. The immigration of foreigners, especially since the famine of 1846 in Ireland, had become so great as to alarm many people, and a secret society with lodges was formed for the purpose of opposing the easy naturalization of foreigners and their election to political offices. Its nominations, made in a secret convention, must be voted for by all members of the society under penalty of expulsion. Only the members of the higher degrees knew the secrets of the organization; novices knew nothing about them. Hence it was called the Know-Nothing Society. It developed into, or formed the nucleus of, the American party, which was important enough, in 1855, to carry nine state elections.

Next year, the American party nominated Millard Fillmore for the presidency, and rallied to itself a small remnant of the Whigs. The Democrats nominated James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, and declared in favor of squatter sovereignty. The Republicans stood upon the principle of the Wilmot Proviso, and declared that slavery must be prohibited in territories; for their candidate, they took the young officer, Fremont, who had aided in conquering California. Fillmore received 8 electoral votes, Fremont had 114, Buchanan had 174, and was elected.

The election of 1856.

Buchanan's Administration.

Democratic: 1857-1861.

134. A Situation Full of Danger. The election of 1856 showed that so long as the South was upheld by the Democrats at the North, this new Republican party would find it hard work to win. But the most notice-

able thing was the great strength shown by this party scarcely more than two years old. It alarmed the southern leaders. Many of them were already entertaining thoughts of secession in the event of the election of a Republican president. At the same time, their policy became aggressive to the point of recklessness. In this they were encouraged by the conduct of the two successive presidents, Pierce and Buchanan, who belonged to

JAMES BUCHANAN.¹

a class of men whom their antagonists sometimes called "dough-faces," or otherwise derided as "northern men with southern principles." Two presidents more unlike the great Democrats, Jackson and Van Buren, it would, indeed, have been hard to find.² But it should not be forgotten that the policy of Pierce and Buchanan represented the sentiments of a large portion of the northern people, who, until civil war had actually broken out, were ready to make extreme concessions in order to avoid it. The slaveholders did not understand this attitude of mind. After it had once become clear, in 1861, that war could not be avoided, these friends of concession for the most part became staunch defenders of the Union.

The policy
of conces-
sion.

¹ From Horton's *Life of James Buchanan*.

² Jackson's supreme courage will be questioned by no one. A striking instance of Van Buren's is furnished by his message to Congress in September, 1837, in the midst of the famous commercial crisis.

By 1857 the progress of the Kansas experiment had begun to show that squatter sovereignty was not helping the slaveholders ; in peopling a new territory northern resources were too great for them. But the subserviency of President Pierce encouraged them to demand that the Federal government should actively protect slavery in all the territories. This was going a long way beyond squatter sovereignty. Under President Buchanan they kept on with this extreme policy until they alienated the great body of northern Democrats, and thus prepared the way for Republican victory.

Dred Scott was the slave of an army surgeon whose home was in Missouri. In 1834, his master took him to the free state of Illinois, where he lived four years.

The Dred Scott case. Thence Dred accompanied the surgeon into the Minnesota territory, where slavery was forbidden by the act of Congress called the Missouri Compromise. Thence, after a while, they returned to Missouri. Some time afterward, Dred was whipped and brought suit for damages in an action of assault and battery. He claimed to be a free negro ; he could not have remained a slave in Illinois and Minnesota, and had, therefore, come back to Missouri as a free negro. The case was carried before one court after another, and one judgment was in Dred's favor. At length, the case reached the Supreme Court of the United States, which gave its decision in 1857. The question before the Supreme Court was a question of jurisdiction. Had Dred Scott any right to bring suit in the lower courts ? Was he a citizen within the meaning of the Federal Constitution ? After deciding this question in the negative, the judges went on to give an opinion concerning all points connected with the case. A majority held that the Missouri Compromise was

unconstitutional, and, therefore, null and void from the start; that Dred Scott was not a citizen of Missouri, but a thing; and that slaveowners could migrate from one part of the Union to another, and take their negroes with them, just as they could take their horses and dogs, or the gold watches and bank notes in their waistcoat pockets.

The practical effect of the Dred Scott decision would have been in course of time to make the whole area of the United States a slave territory. The recklessness of the southern leaders, probably increased by this decision, was shown in two things: (1) In accordance with the express understanding at the time the Constitution was framed, Congress, in

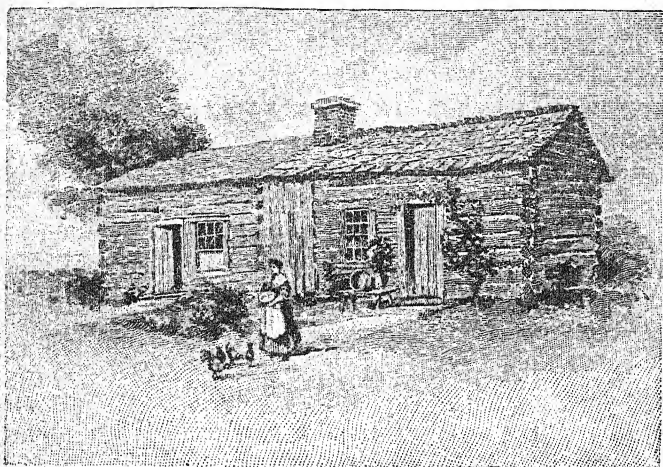
The slave trade resumed.

1808, prohibited the importation of slaves from Africa. The slave trade was seriously checked, but not completely stopped, by this enactment; it was continued for many years in an underhanded and unacknowledged fashion. By 1857 it was becoming apparent that the illegal traffic had been resumed on a considerable scale, and African slaves were brought into our southern ports with scarcely any attempt at concealment. The government did little to hinder this slave trade, and it went on growing in dimensions until it was stopped by the Civil War. (2) A small party in Kansas, with the aid of the president and a party in Congress, tried to force a slave constitution, known as the "Lecompton Constitution," upon Kansas, in spite of the determined opposition of the great majority of the people of that territory. All these things were too much for the northern Democrats, and the Lecompton business, in 1858, was the occasion of a break between Buchanan and Douglas, which heralded a split in the Democratic party.

A slave constitution.

135. The Debate between Lincoln and Douglas.

In 1858, Senator Douglas was a candidate for reelection to the Senate, and the Republicans of Illinois put forward Abraham Lincoln as rival candidate. Abraham Lincoln was then forty-nine years old. Descended from Virginian ancestors, he was born in Kentucky, February 12, 1809. His parents were so poor and



THE HOME OF LINCOLN AT THE AGE OF TWENTY-TWO.¹

ignorant that they are often spoken of as belonging to the "mean white" class. Of schooling Lincoln had but little. He served as a flat-boat hand, as a clerk and storekeeper in a country village in Illinois, as a postmaster, and as a surveyor, and, at length, having taught himself law, he was admitted to the bar, and soon won distinction as a lawyer. He was

Abraham
Lincoln.

¹ Drawn from a photograph by permission of the Abraham Lincoln Log Cabin Association. This log cabin was situated on Goose-Nest Prairie, near Farmington, Ill., and was built by Abraham Lincoln and his father, in 1831.

several times elected to the Illinois Legislature, and served for a short time in Congress. Long before 1858, his local reputation was that of one of the ablest men in Illinois. He was extremely clear-headed and sagacious, with wonderful insight into men's characters. As an orator, although his tall figure (six feet and four inches) was somewhat ungainly, he excelled in commanding dignity and in persuasiveness; and he was a consummate master of pure English speech. As a debater he could not be surpassed. He was very kind-hearted, unflinching in tact, and abounding in droll humor; and he was also, when occasion required, as masterful a man as ever lived. Unselfish, and always to be depended upon, he was everywhere known in homely parlance as "Honest Abe." For winning people's confidence and keeping it, he was much like George Washington.

In 1858, Lincoln and Douglas "took the stump together" in Illinois, and went about from town to town debating questions of national politics. The debate made Lincoln suddenly famous. It did The great debate. not prevent the reelection of Douglas to the Senate, but it forced him to such declarations of opinion on the Dred Scott case, and other matters, as to make it impossible for the South to accept him as its next candidate for the presidency. Thus, this discussion greatly helped to produce the split in the Democratic party, which proved fatal to its success in the next election.

136. Differences Past Healing. The next year something happened that so enraged people at the South as to make them more ready to secede from the Union if a Republican president should be elected. John Brown was a Connecticut man by birth, and a religious fanatic by nature, a curious compound of self-devotion and ruth-

lessness. In 1855, he had moved from Ohio to Kansas, and in the bloody struggle there had done his full share of grim work. In the summer of 1859, he left Kansas and settled in the neighborhood of Harper's John Brown and Harper's Ferry. One night in October, with not more than twenty followers, he attacked the arsenal at that place, in the hope of getting weapons and setting up in the wild mountains about there an asylum where fugitive and rebellious slaves might congregate. He was captured of course and hanged. His attempt found but little sympathy or approval in the North,¹ where it was generally regarded as an insane piece of folly. But to the southern mind it brought up all the possible horrors of negro insurrection, and many persons may have feared that the election of a Republican as president would countenance the repetition of such lawless and dangerous proceedings.

The elec-
tion of
1860.

The Demo-
cratic party
divided.

Next year the Republicans nominated Abraham Lincoln for president, and declared that the Federal government must prohibit slavery in the territories. The southern and northern Democrats could not agree with each other, and separated. The southern Democrats nominated John Breckinridge, of Kentucky, and declared that the Federal government must protect slavery in the territories. The northern Democrats nominated Douglas, and were not yet inclined to give up squatter sovereignty. The meagre remnant of Whigs and Know-Nothings, now calling themselves the Constitutional Union party, nominated John Bell, of Tennessee,

*¹ After war had broken out, however, John Brown's memory became popular with the Union soldiers, and figured in the well-known war-song:—

"John Brown's body lies mouldering in the grave;
His soul is marching on."

and declared themselves in favor of "the Constitution, the Union, and the enforcement of the laws."

The division of the Democrats made a Republican victory certain. Lincoln had 180 electoral votes, Breckinridge 72, Bell 39, and Douglas 12. The popular vote for Douglas was very large, but in nearly all the northern states it was merely a large minority, and, therefore, did not show in the electoral vote.

137. The Secession of Several States. As soon as



JEFFERSON DAVIS.



ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS.

the result of the election was known, the senators and Federal office holders from South Carolina resigned their places. In December, a convention in South Carolina passed an Ordinance of Secession, dissolving the bonds of union between that state and the others. Before the end of January, 1861, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas had followed South Carolina's lead and withdrawn from the Union. In February, delegates from these seven seceding states met at Montgomery, in Alabama,

The Confederate government.

and organized a government called the "Confederate States of America." They adopted a constitution, mostly a copy of the Federal Constitution, and chose Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, for president, and Alexander Hamilton Stephens, of Georgia, for vice-president. Many United States forts and arsenals were seized, but Fort Sumter, in Charleston harbor, and a few others held out. The South Carolinians prepared to capture Fort Sumter.

Meanwhile Congress spent the winter in discussing schemes of compromise. The scheme which for a short time seemed most likely to succeed was one devised by John Jordan Crittenden, senator from Kentucky, and known as the Crittenden Compromise. It was proposed in the form of an amendment to the Constitution. The Missouri Compromise line was to be prolonged to the Pacific Ocean, and Congress was to be expressly prohibited from meddling with slavery south of that line; the Federal government, moreover, was to pay for all fugitive slaves rescued from United States officers after arrest. This Crittenden Compromise seemed for a time very popular at the North, but it failed of adoption.

In February, 1861, at the request of Virginia, a Peace Conference assembled at Washington. The chairman was John Tyler, formerly President of the United States, and delegates were present from Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, Maryland, and Delaware, as well as from fourteen free states. After much interesting discussion, this Conference recommended to Congress various concessions to the slaveholders. Congress rejected all these recommendations, and, instead of them, passed an amendment offered by Senator Douglas, guaranteeing that Congress should never interfere with slavery in the states. People's

minds were soon so busy with the Civil War that this amendment was forgotten, and it was never adopted by the necessary number of states.

About this time, for the sake of conciliation, several northern states either repealed or modified their "personal liberty" laws. In general, the attitude of the North was such that the seceders cherished a strong hope of accomplishing their purpose without war. A great many people at the North seemed ready to surrender almost anything to avoid bloodshed. All sorts of weak suggestions were made by men usually bold and firm, and there is no telling what might have happened but for one man, the gentlest but most unflinching of men, who was prudent enough to make the last stage of his journey to Washington in secret, because rumor had threatened him with assassination on the way. When Abraham Lincoln took his place in the White House, it soon appeared that the distressed ship of state had a firm hand at the helm.

Lincoln's Administration.

Republican: 1861-1865.

138. A Survey of the Situation. The year of Lincoln's election was only seventy years from 1790, the year in which our first census was taken. In that short time there had been great changes. In 1790, the population of Great Britain and Ireland was about 14,000,000, and that of the United States was scarcely 4,000,000. In 1860, the population of Great Britain and Ireland was about 29,000,000, and that of the United States was over 31,000,000. So the beginning of the Civil War was the moment when the daughter country was seen to have grown to be a little

Changes of
seventy
years.

"taller than its mother," and it was not strange if the mother country felt some jealousy. We had, moreover, come to be considered a great maritime power; in merchant shipping we were ahead of all other countries on the globe except Great Britain.

Another contrast is still more striking. In 1790, the North and South — that is, the group of free states and the group of slave states — were nearly equal in population. In 1861, there were 9,000,000 in the seceding states against 22,000,000 in the loyal states; and of that 9,000,000, about 3,700,000 were slaves. When it came to wealth, the superiority of the North over the South was still greater than the superiority in numbers.

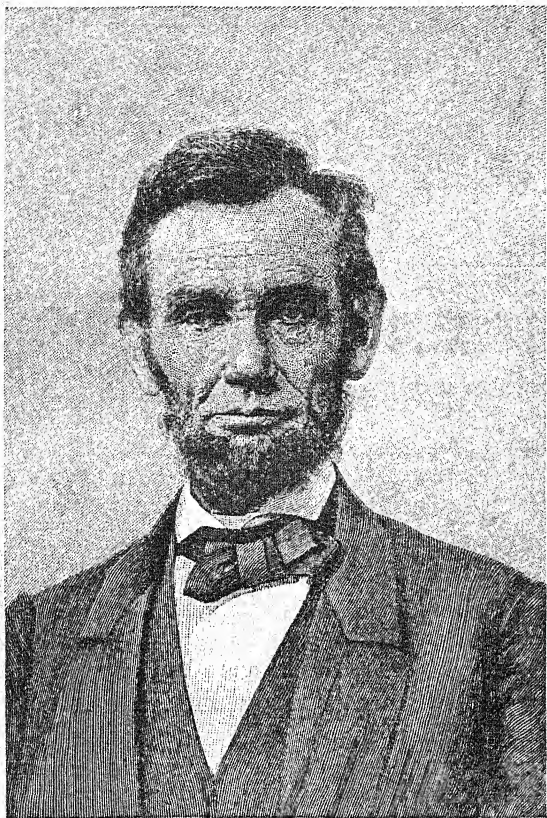
On the other hand, the southerners had one great military advantage. It was not necessary for their armies to overrun the North. If they could defend their own frontier long enough to make the North tired of the war, that would be enough. Thus it became necessary for the North to conquer the South, destroy its armies, and occupy its territory, and that was an immense piece of work.

In planning secession, the southern leaders generally believed that the North would not fight. They thus hoped to attain their ends without a war, but in case war should come after all, they reckoned more or less confidently upon three things, in all of which they were disappointed: —

Three disappointments of the South.

1. They hoped that all the slave states would unite with them, but this, as we shall presently see, was not the case.

2. They hoped for some valuable assistance from northern Democrats, but got none worth mentioning. From the first outbreak of hostilities, the great body of northern Democrats loyally supported President Lin-



Abraham Lincoln.

From an original, unretouched negative, made in 1864, at the time the President commissioned Ulysses Grant Lieutenant-General and Commander of all the armies of the Republic. It is said that this negative, with one of General Grant, was made in commemoration of that event.

coln's government. Some of them voted regularly with the Republicans; others, who did not do so, were known as "War Democrats." A few, who opposed and sometimes sought to embarrass the government, were called "Peace Democrats" and reviled as "Copperheads;" but there were not enough of them to do much damage.

3. They hoped for substantial aid from France and England, especially the latter. The great English manufactories depended upon the supply of cotton from the South. If war should come, the Federal navy would try to blockade the southern coasts; if it should succeed, it would create a dearth of cotton in England; so it was supposed that England would interfere and break the blockade in order to get cotton. In this hope the southerners were disappointed. After the war began, our navy did blockade the southern coast from Chesapeake Bay to

the Rio Grande. Very few ships could get in
The
blockade. or out past that great naval wall, and the export of cotton was soon stopped. In 1860, the amount of cotton sent out was valued at \$202,741,351; in 1861, only about \$42,000,000 worth was exported; in 1862, only about \$4,000,000. This stoppage produced a cotton famine in England; the cotton machinery stopped, and thousands of men were thrown out of work. Yet in spite of all the suffering thus caused, the British government would not interfere to help the South. Napoleon III., who then ruled France, would have been glad to recognize the independence of the South, but he did not like to do it unless England would do so too, and she would not. This was not because the British government was friendly to the Union, for it was not. Among the people of Great Britain much sympathy was expressed for the North and for the Union, but in general the upper classes of society and the Tory party were

pleased at the prospect of a disruption of the United States. Such persons applauded the seceders and professed to believe that slavery was not the real cause of the war. The attitude of the government,¹ without being positively hostile, was unsympathetic. Nevertheless England had for many years been zealously engaged in suppressing the African slave-trade wherever her fleet could reach it; and she could not be persuaded to go to war in support of a government whose own vice-president, Alexander Stephens, had publicly declared it to be founded upon slavery as its corner-stone. That would have been too absurd. So the South had to fight through the great war alone.

139. Beginning of the War. All through the winter the South Carolinians had defied President Buchanan, who did not seem to know what to do about Fort Sumter. Since the people of South Carolina, and of the Confederacy in general, held that their connection with the Union was dissolved, they regarded the United States as a foreign power which had no right to keep possession of Fort Sumter, or any other such place within the limits of the Confederacy. On the other hand, unless the United States government was prepared to admit the right of secession, it was bound to insist upon keeping possession of Fort Sumter and all other such posts. If the Union was at an end, Fort Sumter belonged to the state of South Carolina, and it was President Buchanan's duty to surrender it without unnecessary delay. Unless the Union was at an end, Fort Sumter belonged to the United States, and it was President Buchanan's duty to

The question as to Fort Sumter.

¹ Throughout the Civil War, Lord Palmerston was Prime Minister; and Earl Russell, as Foreign Secretary, came most directly into contact with American affairs.

defend it to the uttermost. The president did not admit the right of secession, but he was unwilling to do anything toward bringing on an armed conflict. The opinion was often expressed at that time that while the Constitution did not authorize any state to secede from the Union, neither did it authorize the Federal government to employ force in preventing a state from seceding. Considerations of this sort hindered Buchanan from making up his mind how to deal with the Fort Sumter question, until presently the 4th of March arrived, and with it the inauguration of Abraham Lincoln as president.

Another month elapsed while the new president, beset with crowds of applicants for office, was studying the details of the situation. On April 8, the governor of South Carolina was notified that reinforcements and provisions would at once be sent to the Federal garrison in Fort Sumter. This information was at once telegraphed to Jefferson Davis, at Montgomery, and he held a cabinet meeting to consider it. His secretary of state, Robert Toombs, of Georgia, thought it unwise to attack Fort Sumter. "The firing upon that fort," said Toombs, "will inaugurate a civil war greater than any the world has yet seen. . . . You will wantonly strike a hornet's nest which extends from mountains to ocean, and legions now quiet will swarm out and sting us to

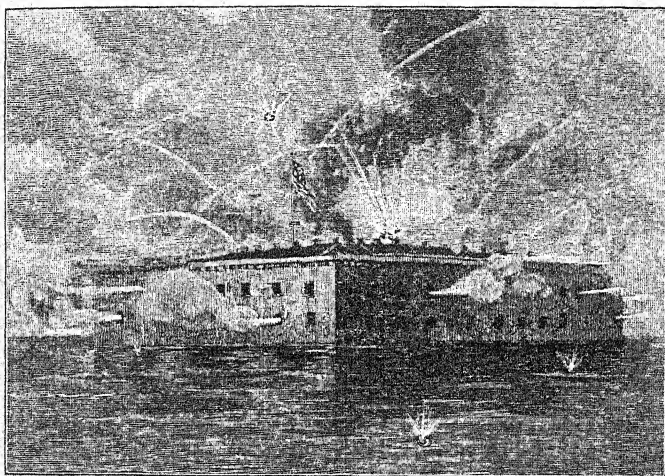
Capture
of Fort
Sumter.

death. It is unnecessary; it puts us in the wrong; it is fatal."¹ In spite of this warning,

Davis sent orders to General Beauregard, commanding at Charleston, to demand the evacuation of Fort Sumter, and in case of refusal, "to reduce it." As the Federal officer in command, Major Robert Anderson, refused to surrender, a bombardment was begun on the morning of Friday, April 12, and continued until

¹ Stovall's *Life of Toombs*, p. 226.

the following Sunday afternoon, when the little garrison surrendered and were allowed to march out with flying colors. Not a man was killed on either side. The next day President Lincoln issued a proclamation calling for 75,000 troops to put down the rebellion. On Wednesday the 17th, Jefferson Davis replied with a proclamation which authorized the fitting out of privateers to attack the merchant shipping of the United States. On Friday the 19th, President Lincoln rejoined by proclaiming a



FORT SUMTER.

blockade of the whole southern coast from South Carolina to Texas inclusive, and declaring that Confederate privateers would be treated as pirates. Thus on both sides was war most emphatically declared. The first actual bloodshed occurred on that same 19th of April, which by a curious coincidence was the anniversary of the bloodshed that ushered in the War for Independence. On that day a regiment from Massachusetts, on

its way to Washington, was fired on by a mob as it was passing through Baltimore, and several men were killed.

140. The Limits of the Rebellion Defined. The effect of the capture of Fort Sumter was like that of touching a lighted match to a powder magazine. There

The North
accepts
the issue.

was a sudden and tremendous outburst of patriotic feeling in all the northern states. There was no further talk of compromise. In the endeavor to avoid war, the North felt that it had gone as far as reason or conscience would allow; and now the promptness and vigor with which it accepted the issue of war were remarkable. Within a few weeks more than 300,000 troops had been put at President Lincoln's disposal. Men of all parties came to his support, foremost among them the Democratic leader, Senator Douglas, who declared that if sword and bayonet were to be allowed to contest the results of the ballot-box, then "the history of the United States is already written in the history of Mexico."¹ Douglas died in June, 1861, and his last words were a prayer for the preservation of the Union.

North of the Ohio River and of Mason and Dixon's line, this practical unanimity of feeling prevailed. In the border states there was no such unanimity. In Arkansas, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Virginia, the

Action of
the border
states.

popular feeling had been opposed to secession, but the doctrine prevailed that the Federal government had no right to employ military force against a seceding state. When compelled to choose between fighting against the South or against the North, those four states chose the latter alternative; their governors refused to obey President Lincoln's call for troops, and presently the states seceded from the

¹ Since Mexico won its independence from Spain, in 1821, its condition had been one of chronic anarchy.

Union and joined the Confederacy. There were many Unionists, however, in North Carolina and Arkansas (as also, indeed, in the mountainous regions of northern Alabama and Georgia). The people of the eastern parts of Tennessee, in spite of the action of their state government, remained steadfastly loyal to the Union. In the western part of Virginia a solid block of forty counties broke away and formed a new ^{West Vir-} state, which was afterward admitted into the Union as ^{ginia.} West Virginia. By this separation Virginia was deprived of nearly two fifths of her territory and more than one fourth of her population, and her rank among all the United States was reduced from fifth to ninth.

Even as thus curtailed, Virginia was first in population among the eleven seceding states, and she added to the Confederacy a military strength more than proportionate to her numbers. In May, 1861, the Confederacy moved its government from Montgomery in Alabama to Richmond in Virginia, and made that city its capital. The possession of the Shenandoah Valley by the Confederacy made it easy, until toward the ^{Importance} end of the war, to threaten the city of Washington with ^{of Virginia.} sudden capture; and this circumstance seriously hampered the operations of the Federal armies. The rivers between Washington and Richmond constituted a series of strong natural defences against an army proceeding southward. The three ablest Confederate generals — Lee, Johnston, and Jackson — were Virginians, and but for the secession of their state, their swords would probably have been drawn in defence of the Union. Thus in many ways the secession of Virginia was a serious blow to President Lincoln's government.

If Missouri had seceded, she would have added to the Confederacy a population somewhat larger than Vir-

ginia carried over to it. Her military position, too, on the flank of Kentucky and Tennessee, was extremely important. With Missouri securely held by a Confederate force, it would have been very difficult for Federal armies to penetrate into the Confederacy by way of the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers. The majority of the people of Missouri

were decidedly opposed to secession, but the government was strongly secessionist and might have succeeded in its project for committing the state to the cause of the South, had it not been for the prompt and resolute action of Francis Preston Blair, a lawyer of St. Louis, and Captain Nathaniel Lyon, commandant of the United States arsenal in that city.



NATHANIEL LYON.



FRANCIS PRESTON BLAIR.

In May and June, 1861, these two men overturned the state government and set up a loyal one in its place. In August, Lyon, having become brigadier-general in command of a small army, was defeated and killed at Wilson's Creek, but, in spite of this, the Confederates grew weaker, until they quite lost their hold

upon the state. Owing to the position of Missouri in the field of war, the work of Lyon and Blair was equivalent to a tremendous initial victory for the North.

Of the other two border states, Maryland remained firmly in the Union. In Kentucky there was at first some talk of preserving "neutrality" between North and South, which was of course impos- Kentucky. sible. Here, as elsewhere along the border, public sentiment was so much divided that members of the same family espoused opposite sides. One of the sons of the venerable author of the Crittenden Compromise became a major-general in the Union army, while another son attained the same rank in the army of the Confederacy. President Lincoln, a native of Kentucky, knew well how to feel the popular pulse in that state. Among other things, he understood the importance of letting the Confederacy commit the first act of aggression upon its soil. This was done the first week in September, 1861, when a Confederate force of 15,000 men, under General Polk,¹ established itself at Columbus, and prepared to seize the important position of Paducah, where the Tennessee River empties into the Ohio. At the same time another Confederate force, under General Zollicoffer, invaded the southeastern corner of Kentucky by Cumberland Gap. At the news of these acts of invasion the Kentucky Legislature, by a heavy majority, voted that the stars and stripes should be displayed over the capitol at Frankfort.

There was then a small Union force at Cairo, com-

¹ Leonidas Polk was related to James Knox Polk, eleventh President of the United States. Their grandfathers were brothers. Leonidas Polk was a graduate of the West Point Military Academy. He afterwards became an Episcopal clergyman, and at the beginning of the Civil War was Bishop of Louisiana. He then accepted a commission as major-general in the Confederate army.

manded by Ulysses Simpson Grant. This officer was a graduate of the West Point Academy, and had served in the Mexican War. In 1854, he had left the army and engaged in business. He was living in Illinois when the Civil War broke out, and entered the service in June as a colonel of the Illinois militia. At the beginning of



THE SITUATION IN MISSOURI AND KENTUCKY, 1861-62.

September he was commanding the district of southeastern Missouri, with headquarters at Cairo, when Polk occupied Columbus. Three days afterward Grant entered Kentucky and seized Paducah. This was equivalent to a Union victory, giving the Union army a hold upon the mouths of the two great rivers, the Tennessee and the Cumberland, which were like two highways into the heart of the Confederacy. Five days later the Kentucky Legislature, by a three fourths vote, instructed the governor to demand the removal of Polk and his Confederate troops from the state. It was then moved that the withdrawal of Grant and his Union troops should

also be demanded, and this motion was defeated by a two thirds vote. Thus did Kentucky array herself decisively on the side of the Union.

141. First Heavy Fighting. People wanted to have the war ended within three months, and were impatient for a great battle. On July 16, a force of about 35,000 men, commanded by General McDowell, began moving from Washington toward Richmond. At Bull Run, with about 23,000 Confederates, was General Beauregard, who had been McDowell's classmate at West Point. At Winchester, in the Shenandoah valley, was a Confederate force of 15,000, under Joseph Eggleston Johnston, confronted by a similar Union force under Robert Patterson, a veteran of the war of 1812. McDowell's intention was to attack and overwhelm Beauregard, and he relied upon Patterson's ability to detain Johnston at Winchester. But Johnston eluded Patterson, left Winchester on the 18th, and reaching Bull Run on the 20th with one brigade, took command of the whole army there. By the morning of the 21st, when the battle began, the arrivals from Winchester had swelled the Confederate army to about 30,000. On both sides the fighting was well sustained considering the rawness of the troops.¹ By the middle of the afternoon, McDowell seemed on the point of victory, when a fresh force from Winchester under Kirby Smith arrived on the scene and turned the scale. The Union army was

The first
battle of
Bull Run.

¹ General McDowell once told me that on the march to Bull Run it was impossible to keep those raw recruits from scattering to pick blackberries. General Sherman told me that just before the start for Bull Run, a newly enlisted captain insisted upon going home to New York for a few days "on business," and would have gone in utter defiance of discipline if Sherman, who was then a colonel, had not sternly threatened to

driven from the field, but the victors were in no condition to follow up their advantage. About 5,000 men were killed or wounded. This battle began to teach people at the North that they must not expect to make a speedy conquest of the South. At the same time



JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON.

it strengthened the determination of the northern people and incited them to greater exertions; while the South, in rejoicing over the victory, did not duly heed the proverb that "one swallow does not make a summer." Very little else was done at the East during the rest of the year 1861, except that the Confederate troops who had invaded

West Virginia were driven out by McClellan and Rosecrans. In the autumn General McClellan succeeded the venerable General Scott as general-in-chief of the United States army, and for some time he devoted himself to the task of organizing and drilling the splendid force in front of Washington, which came to be known as the Army of the Potomac.

About the end of the year, an affair occurred which

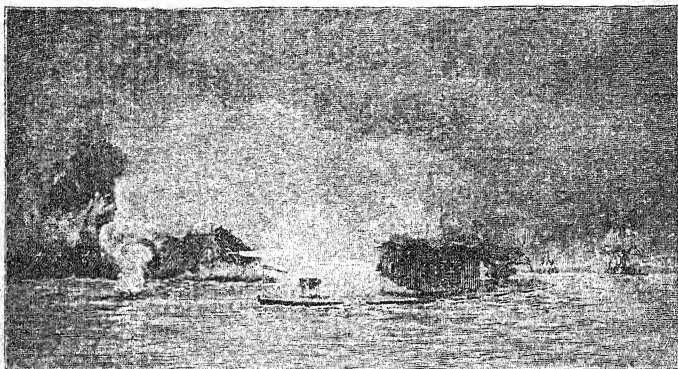
have him shot as a deserter. Soon afterward President Lincoln came to visit the camp, and this indignant captain walked up to his carriage and told him his tale of "tyranny." As he was finishing it, Sherman happened to step within hearing, and Lincoln glanced at him with a droll twinkle of the eye. "Well," said Lincoln to the captain, "if Colonel Sherman threatened to shoot you, I would advise you not to trust him, for I really believe he would do it!"

might have dragged us into war with Great Britain. Two southern gentlemen, Slidell and Mason, The Trent affair. were sent out by the Confederacy as commissioners respectively to France and to England, to seek aid from those powers. They ran the blockade, and at Havana took passage for England in a British steamer named the Trent. Some way out at sea, an American warship under Captain Wilkes overhauled the Trent, took out Mason and Slidell, and carried them as prisoners to Fort Warren, in Boston harbor. This act of Captain Wilkes was at first applauded, and the House of Representatives passed a resolution of thanks, but the British government demanded that Slidell and Mason should be given up. On sober second thought it was clear that the seizure of those gentlemen was unjustifiable. It was the sort of thing that Great Britain had formerly done, and against which the United States had always protested. In 1856, Great Britain had consented to regard such kind of search and capture from neutral ships as illegal. President Lincoln, therefore, at once disavowed the act of Captain Wilkes and gave up the prisoners. This was in the highest degree creditable to President Lincoln and to the people of the United States, who heartily approved his conduct.

The affair created much bitter feeling in England and America, and the feeling afterward grew more bitter when fast Confederate cruisers were allowed to slip out of British ports to prey upon American commerce. The most famous of these privateers was the Alabama, which did great damage to our commerce. Confederate cruisers. After a while, the British government was warned by our minister that this sort of thing would not be endured by the United States, and there-

after means were found of preventing such cruisers from going out.

142. A Revolution in Naval Warfare. Events happened on the water in March, 1862, which were calculated to make foreign powers think twice before venturing into a quarrel with the United States. The Confederates had seized the navy yard at Norfolk, in



THE FIGHT BETWEEN THE MONITOR AND THE MERRIMAC.¹

Virginia, and having found there the United States frigate Merrimac, had transformed her into an ironclad ram with sloping sides and iron beak. In Hampton Roads, the United States had a fleet of five wooden warships, probably equal in strength to any five ships in the world. On the 8th of March, the Merrimac attacked this fleet. Their shot bounded harmlessly from the Merrimac's sloping iron sides, while with her terrible beak she rammed one of them, the Cumberland, and broke a great hole in her. The unfortunate Cumberland sank, and but few of her men were saved. Then the Merrimac attacked the Congress,

¹ After Halsall's painting, now in the Capitol at Washington.

drove her aground, and forced her to surrender. Night came on, and before destroying the other three ships, the black monster waited for the morrow. The telegraph carried the news all over the North, and with it consternation. What could protect us against this fearful Merrimac? She might break up the blockade; she might destroy all the shipping in New York harbor and bombard the city; there was no telling what she might do. It was a sickening moment.

But the very next day had a still greater surprise in store. Captain John Ericsson, the inventor of the screw propeller, had lately invented the ^{The} Monitor. turret ship; and the first vessel of this class, the Monitor, had just been finished. She was a small flat craft, presenting very little surface for an adversary's balls to strike. Amidships there was an iron cylinder made to revolve by machinery, and this revolving cylinder, or turret, carried two enormous guns which could throw such heavy balls as had never before been seen in war. She was said to look like "a cheese-box on a raft." It so happened that this little Monitor arrived in Hampton Roads on the night of March 8. Next morning, as the Merrimac was steaming toward her next intended victim, the frigate Minnesota, this queer little

JOHN ERICSSON.¹

¹ From the unique marble bust modelled from life by Kneeland, and now in my possession, in my house at Cambridge.

craft came up and sent a stupendous ball thundering against the monster's iron side; and then, as the turret swung around, another, and another, such a battering as never ship's side had felt before that day.

The battle
of the iron-
clads.

The Merrimac stood it well, but her attempts to catch the Monitor with her beak were futile, and at length she gave up the fight and withdrew from the scene, completely baffled though not disabled.

In one respect, this was the most wonderful battle that ever was fought on the water. All the newest ships in all the navies in the world instantly became old-fashioned and discredited, and all great nations had to begin afresh and build new navies. As for the naval superiority of the North over the South, it was no more interrupted. Among the great men who saved the Union and freed the slaves, one of the most important was the man of science, John Ericsson.

143. Confederate Lines of Defence in the Southwest. The defensive line of the Confederates extended through Kentucky, from the Mississippi River to Cumberland Gap, in the Alleghanies. Its centre was at Forts Henry, on the Tennessee River, and Donelson, on the Cumberland; where it was opposed

Forts
Henry and
Donelson.

by General Grant with forces which presently formed the westernmost of the three great Federal armies, and came to be known as the Army of the Tennessee. The Confederate right wing extended eastward from Bowling Green, and was opposed by General Buell, with the middle great Federal army, afterward known as the Army of the Cumberland. Buell's left wing was commanded by General Thomas, who, in January, 1862, won an important victory at Mill Spring, and drove back the Confederate right. The next month, General Grant, aided by Com-

either side, and it was indeed a severe blow to the Confederates; it forced them to give up nearly the whole of Tennessee.

They made their next stand along the line from Memphis to Chattanooga, and began massing their forces at Corinth. Their leader, Albert Sidney Johnston, was regarded as one of the ablest officers in the southern army, and the second in command was Beauregard, who had been sent westward from Virginia. Grant advanced toward them as far as Pittsburg Landing, on the west bank of the Tennessee River, and Buell was on the way to join him there. Johnston then moved up suddenly from Corinth in order to attack and crush Grant before Buell could join him. Thus occurred the great battle of Shiloh, April 6 and 7, in which nearly 100,000 men were engaged, and more than 20,000 were killed or wounded. General Johnston was killed on the first day, and General Beauregard succeeded him in command. For a time it seemed as if the Confederates were winning, but Grant kept the field till nightfall, when Buell's troops began to arrive. On the next day after six hours of desperate fighting the Confederates were obliged to retreat. Some weeks afterward they lost Corinth, and thus the centre of their second line of defence was broken.

The navy of the United States played a great part in putting down the rebellion. Many persons had believed it would be impossible to make an effective blockade of the entire coast, from Chesapeake Bay to the Rio Grande. Yet this was done. Of regular warships there were not nearly enough, but the government made all sorts of craft useful, — merchant ships, steam-boats, even Brooklyn ferry-boats, sometimes partially armored. Almost anything that could

The
blockade.

float and carry guns was found serviceable, at least temporarily. During 1861 the forts at Hatteras Inlet were captured, and also Port Royal, in South Carolina, and sundry small islands along the coast. Such places served as points of supply for Union fleets, and also as



ADMIRAL FARRAGUT.

lairs from which to pounce upon blockade-runners, or to assail places on the coast.

In April, 1862, soon after the battle of Shiloh, the Federal fleet, under Farragut and Porter, performed one of the most memorable exploits in naval history, when it ran past the forts at the mouth of the Mississippi, defeated the Confederate fleet, captured the city of New Orleans, and got control of the river nearly up to Vicksburg. At the same time, the river fleet, aided by a small land force under General

The capture of
New
Orleans.

Pope, captured Island Number Ten,¹ thus opening the river as far down as Memphis. Then the river fleet went down and completely destroyed the Confederate river fleet at Memphis.



ADMIRAL PORTER.

This series of magnificent Federal victories reduced the Confederates in the West to the two important positions of Vicksburg, on the Mississippi River, and Chattanooga, in the southeastern part of Tennessee.

These two places were of immense importance, as we shall see. They were defended with heroism and skill, and it was long before they yielded to the Federal armies.

144. McClellan in Virginia. Compared with the rapid progress of the Union armies in the West, things at the East seemed to stand almost still. Richmond, the Confederate capital, was the objective point to be reached by the Army of the Potomac. General McClellan wished to advance against Richmond from the mouth of James River; but the government wished him to march across Virginia in such a way as always to



GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN.

¹ This name indicates the tenth island below the mouth of the Ohio River.

keep his army interposed between the Confederate army and the city of Washington. The route which McClellan took was a kind of compromise between these two methods. He advanced up the York River with his



ROBERT EDWARD LEE.

base on the York River instead of the James, while part of his army, under McDowell, was started on the direct road from Washington toward Richmond by way of Fredericksburg. There was always a chance that some Confederate force might dart upon Washington through the Shenandoah valley ; and so that region was watched by small Union forces under Banks and Fremont.

The advance
against
Richmond.

The skilful Confederate generals, against whom McClellan was pitted, soon made havoc of these arrangements. Joseph Johnston at first directed the Confederate operations. After detaining McClellan for a month in besieging Yorktown, Johnston abandoned that place and withdrew toward Richmond. In following him, McClellan's army was brought into a dangerous position; part of it was on the south side of the Chickahominy River, part was on the

The battle
of Fair
Oaks.



"STONEWALL" JACKSON.

north side, when a sudden rise of the river nearly cut the army in two. Johnston seized the opportunity to strike the southern half, and, in the bloody battle of Fair Oaks, May 31, it barely escaped destruction. In this battle Johnston was wounded, and the chief command was taken by Robert Edward Lee.

Meanwhile, the famous Thomas Jonathan Jackson

—already better known as "Stonewall" Jackson¹—suddenly swooped into the Shenandoah valley, and put to flight the Federals there, exciting such a panic in Washington that McDowell's force was withdrawn to defend the capital. This was just what Jackson wanted, and, having brought

Jackson in
the Shen-
andoah.

¹ At one time during the first battle of Bull Run, the Confederates seemed to be defeated, and some were retreating in disorder when they passed Jackson and his men still bravely holding their ground. "Look!" shouted General Bernard Bee, as he was rallying his men, "Look! there is Jackson standing like a stone wall!"

it about, he lost no time in joining Lee before Richmond.

McDowell's withdrawal was a sore disappointment to McClellan, but it left him free to revert to his original plan, and he began changing his base to the James River. Lee now attacked him while making the change, and a week of severe fighting ensued, June 26 to July 1. McClellan reached the James River, after losing more than 15,000 men, and in the last of the week's fights, at Malvern Hill, Lee met with a bloody repulse.

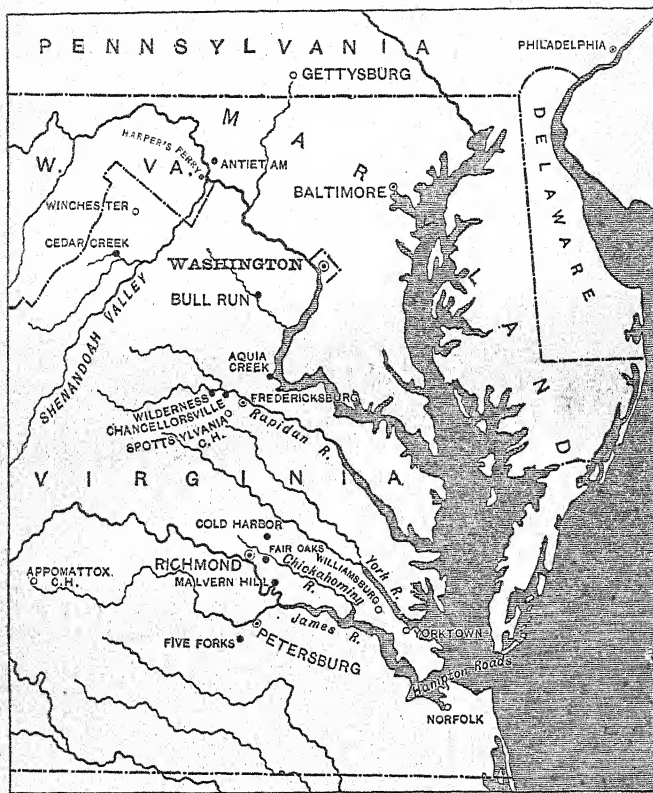
The seven
days'
battles.

Shortly before this, the chief command of the Union armies had been given to General Halleck, an officer who had held command over all the West, and had thus caught some reflected glory from the achievements of Grant and Pope. For some time McClellan had commanded only the Army of the Potomac. Now the scattered forces in northern Virginia were gathered under command of General Pope. Stonewall Jackson marched against Pope, and once more the Federals did just what their enemies wanted. Halleck ordered McClellan to abandon his operations against Richmond, and move his army around by sea to Aquia Creek, there to unite it with Pope's. This movement left Lee's hands entirely free, so that he joined Jackson, and with his full force struck Pope at Bull Run, August 28-30, and totally defeated him. In those three bloody days the Union army lost more than 14,000 men, and the Confederates lost not less than 10,000.

The second
battle of
Bull Run.

After this victory, Lee pushed on into Maryland, threatening Baltimore and Washington, while wild excitement prevailed throughout the northern states. All the available forces near at hand, amounting to about 85,000, were given to McClellan, who advanced north-

westward through Maryland to find the enemy. Lee was disappointed at the coldness with which his troops were received in that state. The



THE WAR IN VIRGINIA, 1861-65.

song, "Maryland, my Maryland!" was for the moment popular at the South, but the Marylanders showed no desire to join the Confederacy. The most that Lee could hope to accomplish north of the Potomac was to

defeat the Federal army and then threaten or capture the city of Washington. That would have been no small blow to the Union cause, though not necessarily fatal. Lee's course was bold. There was a Union force of 11,000 men at Harper's Ferry, which Halleck had thought best not to withdraw from that point. The



BRIDGE OVER THE ANTIETAM.¹

chance was too tempting to be lost, and Lee sent Stonewall Jackson to capture this Union force. It was taking a serious risk, for McClellan might arrive and attack him before Jackson's return. But Jackson captured Harper's Ferry with its garrison, and was back again in time for the encounter with McClellan. With his

¹ From *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*.

whole force thus united, Lee had scarcely more than 50,000 men. The great struggle came on the 17th of September, at Antietam, where the killed and wounded were more than 25,000. Lee, who was slightly worsted, retired very leisurely into Virginia. Many people felt that McClellan had proved himself incompetent for the position which he held. Early in November the president removed him from command and appointed General Burnside in his place.

145. The Emancipation of the Slaves. The battle of Antietam marked an era in the progress of the war, for it gave to President Lincoln the occasion for taking a decisive step which he had for some time been meditating. When after the fall of Fort Sumter he called for 75,000 troops to put down the rebellion, he had no intention of interfering with slavery in the states where it already existed. That would have been contrary to the original policy of the Republican party, which aimed only at the prohibition of slavery in all the territories. But that policy was intended for times of peace, and the war time, with its new requirements, soon altered it. When armies were once in the field, what was to be done with runaway slaves who sought refuge in our camps? Federal commanders could hardly be expected to return them to their masters. If the North had tried to acquiesce in the Fugitive Slave Law in order to prevent a civil war, it could not be expected tamely to endure it now that war had begun. But on what legal ground could a Union commander refuse to surrender fugitives? At first, while people were still thinking in the old ways, there was a moment of puzzling over this question. But the difficulty was ingeniously met by General Butler, a Massachusetts lawyer and major-general of volunteers, who

The battle
of Antie-
tam.

Fugitive
slaves pro-
nounced
contra-
band.

in May, 1861, was commanding at Fortress Monroe. Among the rules of modern warfare, designed to mitigate its severity, one is that private property must, as far as possible, be respected. Soldiers are not allowed to burn and plunder people's houses, and even when it is necessary to take articles of food, it is customary to pay for them. But such things as powder and ball, swords and cannon, things directly used in war, are not entitled to the respect thus paid to private property. They may be destroyed or confiscated; in legal phrase, they are "contraband of war." General Butler was something of a humorist. When some slaves who had taken refuge in his camp were demanded by their owners, he refused to surrender them; since they could be used in war, in building fortifications and in other ways, he said they were "contraband" and he should therefore keep them. This answer hit the popular fancy, comic papers had pictures of negroes singing, "Bress de Lor', we am contraban'," and thus the Fugitive Slave Law practically received its death-blow. For some years in ordinary talk, "a contraband" meant a negro.

To refuse to surrender runaways was one thing; to set slaves free was quite another. As the war went on, the anti-slavery feeling rapidly increased at the North. Some commanders undertook to set slaves free by proclamation. Fremont tried this in Missouri, in the summer of 1861, and Hunter tried it in South Carolina, in the spring of 1862. But President Lincoln overruled these proclamations, as going far beyond the authority permissible to generals in the field. For this he was blamed by some impatient people, who charged him with being lukewarm in his hatred of slavery. But Lincoln was one of the most clear-sighted of men. He knew that a premature agitation of such questions in

the border states would not help the anti-slavery cause, and he knew that no great measure of reform is secure until it is demanded by public opinion. By the summer of 1862 people were ready to appreciate the argument that if confiscating slave property could weaken the enemy, it was a sound military measure; and besides this, it would make it more than ever impossible for England or France to give open aid to the South. It was also the clear dictate of common sense, that in waging such a terrible and costly war, the earliest opportunity should be taken of striking at the cause of the trouble; otherwise victory, even when won, could not be final, but the seeds of future disease would be left in the body politic. President Lincoln knew that the Constitution gave him no authority to abolish slavery, but there was a sound principle of military law that did. In 1836 John Quincy Adams had declared in Congress that, if ever the slave states should become the theatre of war, the government might interfere with slavery in any way that military policy might suggest. Again, in his speech of April 14, 1842, he said in words of prophetic force, "Whether the war be civil, servile, or foreign, I lay this down as the law of nations: I say that the military authority takes for the time the place of all municipal institutions. Under that state of things, so far from its being true that the states where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, the President of the United States, as commander of the army, has power to order the universal emancipation of slaves." It was upon this military theory that Lincoln acted. In announcing it he seized the favorable moment when the tide of invasion had begun to roll back from Maryland. On the 22d of September, 1862, a few days after the

The proclamation of emancipation.

battle of Antietam, he issued his immortal proclamation, announcing that on the following New Year's Day, in all such states as had not by that time returned to their allegiance, the slaves should be thenceforth and forever free. This did not affect the slaves in the loyal border states, who were left to be set free by other measures; but it was a guarantee that the reestablishment of the authority of



EMANCIPATION GROUP.¹

¹ From a photograph of the bronze group situated in Park Square, Boston, which was unveiled December 9, 1879. It is a duplicate of the Freedmen's Memorial Statue erected in Lincoln Square, Washington, which was unveiled by President Grant, April 14, 1876. It was designed by Thomas Ball. The kneeling negro is a faithful portrait of Archer Alexander, who was, I believe, the last fugitive slave captured in Missouri under the old state laws. At the time of his capture he was in the employ of my dear friend, Rev. William Greenleaf Eliot, the late noble and revered Chancellor of the Washington University, at St. Louis. On the very day of his capture, March 30, 1863, the poor negro was restored to freedom by Dr. Eliot, with the aid of military law administered through President Lincoln's provost-marshal. The whole story, as thrilling as anything in *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, should be read in Dr. Eliot's beautiful and touching little book, *The Story of Archer Alexander*, Boston, 1885.

the United States government would witness the final abolition of slavery.

146. Grant and Rosecrans in the West, etc. The Sioux Indians had for some time complained, probably with reason, of ill treatment at the hands of white settlers and government officials. In the summer of 1862, while our armies were occupied at the South, these red men invaded Minnesota and Iowa, and massacred nearly a thousand men, women, and children, with circumstances of the most horrible barbarity. A small Federal force soon suppressed these Indians, and several of their leaders were convicted of murder and hanged.

The Sioux War.

Late in the summer of 1862, the Confederate army, under General Bragg, starting out from Chattanooga, invaded the state of Kentucky. Coming at the same time with Lee's invasion of Maryland, this move created much excitement at the North, but the Confederates gained nothing by it, and after a bloody battle at Perryville, October 8, they retreated upon Chattanooga.

Meanwhile Rosecrans, who commanded Grant's left wing at Corinth, was attacked by the Confederates, who hoped to drive him back upon the Tennessee River; but in two battles — Iuka, September 19, and Corinth, October 3 and 4 — Rosecrans was victorious. He was soon afterward appointed to command the Army of the Cumberland in place of Buell. On December 31 and January 2, a great battle was fought between Rosecrans and Bragg at Stone River.

The battle of Stone River.

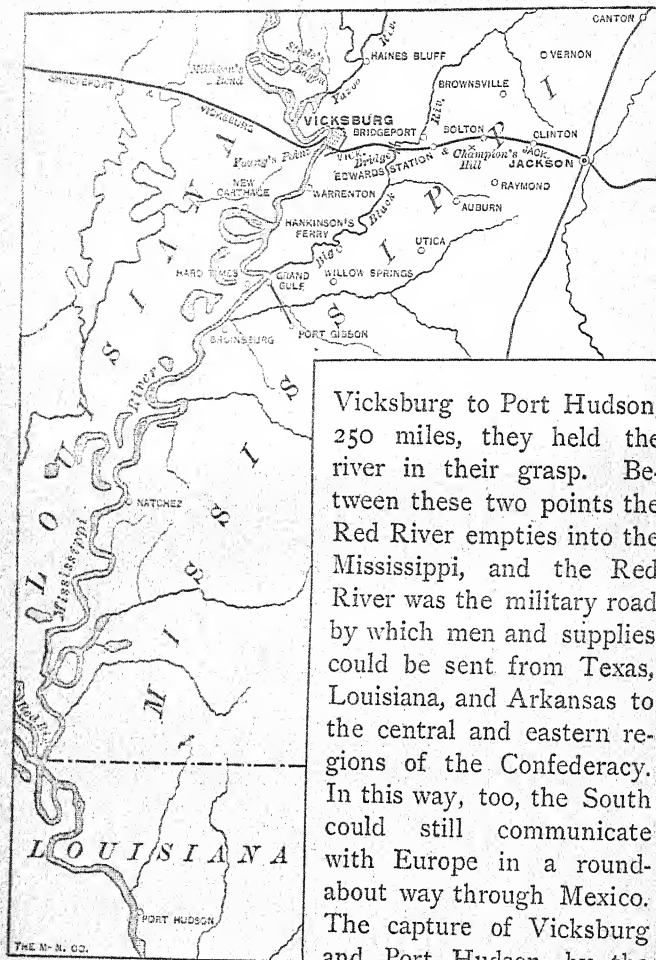
More than 20,000 men were killed or wounded, and Bragg was obliged to retire from the field, but the Federal army gained no decisive advantage, and no further approach toward Chattanooga was made until the next summer.

That New Year saw the first repulse of the Federal troops at Vicksburg, which they were preparing to invest. On December 29, General Sherman assaulted the bluffs north of the town, and was defeated. The Confederates had made Vicksburg one of Vicksburg assaulted. the strongest military positions known to history, and all winter Grant labored in vain to get near enough to attack it. The problem was so remarkable that a brief explanation of it will be found interesting.

The Mississippi River flows through a soft soil, in which it is continually cutting fresh channels and changing its course. The strip of flat country, averaging about forty miles in width, which forms its basin, is intersected by a network of bayous or sluggish streams, sometimes deep enough to be navigable, and it is covered with swamps and jungle. On these low, flat shores the Confederates could not build fortifications that could withstand the Federal river fleets. But on the eastern side the basin of the great river is bounded by the lofty plains of Tennessee and Mississippi, which terminate in precipitous bluffs; and here and there, at long intervals, the river sweeps close up to the bluffs and washes their base. Among these points are Memphis, Vicksburg, Grand Gulf, and Port Hudson. These places stand on the summit of high bluffs, and they can destroy warships with a plunging fire, without incurring much damage in return. Hence it is almost impossible to assault them in front from the river; the only way of approaching them safely is from the east or rear side.

After the fall of Corinth had exposed Memphis to attack from the rear, the Confederates lost control of the Mississippi River down to Vicksburg. That place, as well as Grand Gulf and Port Hudson, they strongly fortified, and from

Importance
of Vicks-
burg and
Port Hud-
son.



Vicksburg to Port Hudson, 250 miles, they held the river in their grasp. Between these two points the Red River empties into the Mississippi, and the Red River was the military road by which men and supplies could be sent from Texas, Louisiana, and Arkansas to the central and eastern regions of the Confederacy. In this way, too, the South could still communicate with Europe in a round-about way through Mexico. The capture of Vicksburg and Port Hudson by the

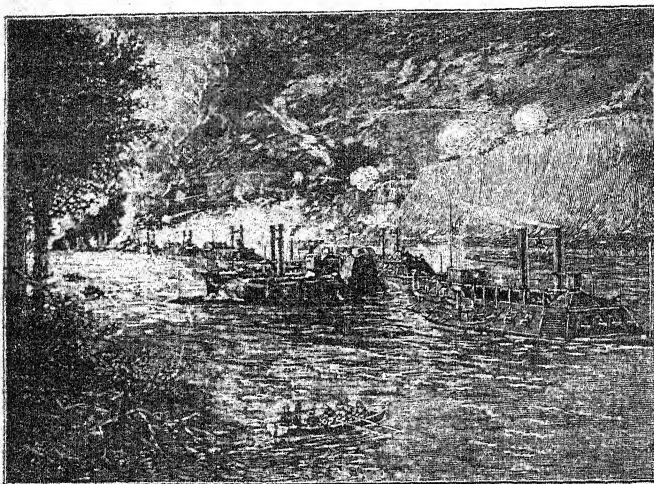
Federals meant the cutting off of one of the most important sources of supplies for the South, and the final completion of the blockade. It would be one of the most damaging blows that could be struck at the Confederacy.

Grant's first movement toward Vicksburg, in December, 1862, was by the rear, through the state of Mississippi; but by the time he had advanced from Corinth halfway toward Jackson, the Confederates succeeded in destroying the railroad behind him, and cutting off his supplies, so that he was obliged to retreat in order to escape starvation. It was during this retreat that Sherman made the unsuccessful assault already mentioned. Notwithstanding Sherman's failure, it was for various reasons thought best to make the next attempt from the river, and accordingly about the first of February, 1863, Grant took his army down the river to Young's Point, on the west bank, opposite Vicksburg.

In order to take the city, it was necessary to cross the river and get into the rear of it, but this seemed next to impossible. It was doubtful if any assault would succeed where Sherman's had failed, between Vicksburg and Haines' Bluff; the ground was too difficult. But to land an army anywhere south of Vicksburg was to put it in danger of starving; for the guns of Vicksburg were likely to prevent vessels from passing down the river with food, and the guns of Port Hudson were likely to prevent any such vessels from passing up. During the whole of February and March, Grant was busy with two experiments: 1. He tried, by digging canals and deepening channels, to make a connected passage through the network of bayous west of the Mississippi, so that supply ships might be sent below Vicksburg without coming within range of its guns. 2. He tried to find a passage available for gunboats through the labyrinth of bayous to the north, so that with the aid of the fleet he might secure a foothold for the army beyond Haines' Bluff, and thence come

down upon the rear of Vicksburg. Both plans were Titanlike in their boldness, both contended with insuperable difficulties, and both failed.

Grant's next scheme was so daring that none of his generals approved of it. While Sherman's division kept threatening to assault Haines' Bluff, the rest of the



GUNBOATS PASSING VICKSBURG BY NIGHT.¹

army was gradually moved down to Hard Times, and Porter's fleet ran down past the batteries of Vicksburg and as far as Grand Gulf. Several squadrons of supply ships also ran past, incurring more or less damage. In concert with these move-

Movement
to the
south of
Vicksburg.

¹ By permission, from the painting by James E. Taylor. This shows Admiral Porter's gunboat fleet passing the batteries at Vicksburg on the night of April 16, 1863. In the foreground is seen a yawl in which General Sherman is being rowed out to the flagship Benton, to consult with Porter. The original painting was made for General Sherman from sketches and plans furnished by Admiral Porter.

ments, Grierson's cavalry made a brilliant raid through the eastern part of the state of Mississippi, cutting railroads and telegraphs, and diverting attention from Grant's operations.

All this time Vicksburg was commanded by General Pemberton, but Johnston, with reinforcements, was on his way to take command of the place, and was already approaching the state capital, Jackson. Grant now proceeded to carry out the boldest part of his scheme. On the last day of April he crossed the river to Bruinsburg, and next day defeated part of Pemberton's army at Port Gibson. The Confederates were thus forced to abandon Grand Gulf. On May 7 Grant advanced with his left wing toward Bolton and his right to-

ward Raymond. He did not try to keep up a line of communication with Grand Gulf; his soldiers carried in their knapsacks rations for five days, and reckoned upon finding poultry, beeves, and corn, along the way. Sherman's division had now joined the rest of the army. In a second battle at Raymond and a third at Jackson, part of Johnston's army was defeated, and he was obliged to retreat to Canton. While Sherman tore up all the railroads about Jackson, Grant turned westward, encountered Pemberton at Champion's Hill, and defeated him with heavy slaughter. The next day Pemberton tried to hold the bridge over Big Black River, and there in a fifth battle Grant was once more victorious. Pemberton retired into Vicksburg, and evacuated Haines' Bluff, which was no longer tenable. Grant immediately seized that fortress, which commanded all the northern approaches to Vicksburg, and his own supplies were now secure. This was the 18th day of May, eleven days since he had cut loose from Grand Gulf. In that brief time he had marched two hundred miles, defeated

A brilliant campaign.

two armies in five battles, captured about ninety cannon, and solved the problem of investing Vicksburg. There was something Napoleonic in this.

Grant now made two attempts to take Vicksburg by storm, not wishing to allow time for Johnston to come to its relief. But the assaults failed, and Grant laid siege to the city. Unless Johnston should succeed in interfering, its fall was only a question of time. While these things were going on, a Federal army, under General Banks, had laid close siege to Port Hudson.

147. Reverses in the East. Meanwhile, things had been going badly in Virginia. Burnside had superseded McClellan in command of the Army of the Potomac.

The battles of Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville. On December 13, 1862, he assaulted Lee in a strong position at Fredericksburg, and was defeated with a loss of 12,000 men. Burnside was then superseded by Joseph Hooker, and little more was done till spring. At Chancellorsville, May 1 to 4, Hooker with 90,000 men attacked Lee, who had only 45,000; but Lee handled his troops with such skill, that at every point where fighting was going on the Federals were outnumbered. This battle, in which nearly 30,000 were killed or wounded, was the worst defeat experienced by any Union army during the war. Here Stonewall Jackson made a flank march against the Federal right wing, which was one of his greatest achievements, as it was his last; he was mortally wounded, and died a few days afterwards.

148. The Turning of the Tide. After this great battle Lee pushed past Hooker's army and marched through western Maryland into Pennsylvania, threatening not only Washington, but even Baltimore and Philadelphia. He could hardly hope to conduct a long cam-

paign north of the Potomac, but if he could win another such victory as that of Chancellorsville, he might perhaps capture Washington. The South still entertained a hope that England and France might in that case help the Confederacy, though since Lincoln's proclamation of emancipation it was no doubt too late for anything of the sort. Lee's northward advance was watched by all the loyal states with great anxiety. Stanton, the secretary of war, had intended to have Hooker removed from command, when differences of opinion between Hooker and Halleck led the former to ask to be relieved. On the eve of battle the command of the Army of the Potomac was given to one of the ablest of its corps commanders, George Gordon Meade.

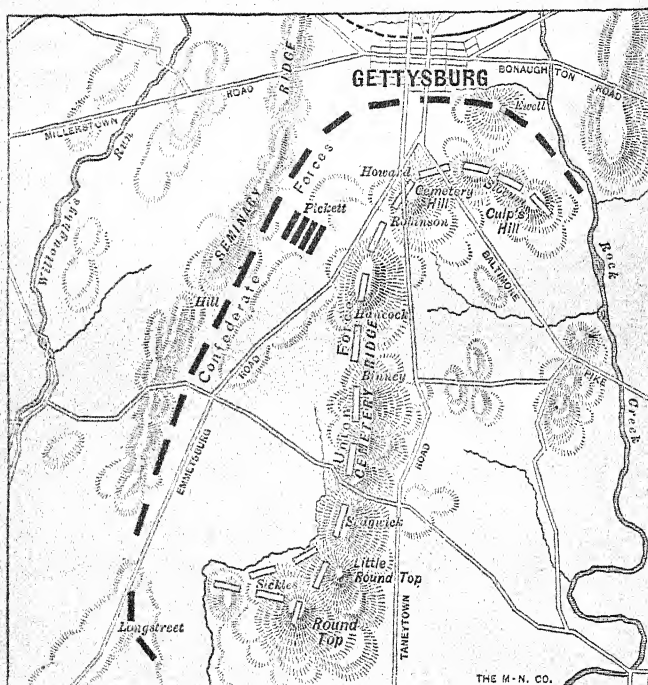
The little town of Gettysburg controlled the roads between Lee's army and the Potomac River. If seized by Meade, it would threaten Lee's communications. Accordingly both generals threw forward a part of their forces toward that point, and on July 1 two corps of the Union army, under Reynolds and Howard, encountered the Confederate van, under Ambrose Powell Hill, a little to the north of Gettysburg. A severe battle ensued, in which Reynolds was killed, and after another Confederate corps, under Ewell, had arrived on the scene, the Federals were driven back through the town, but their antagonists did not pursue them. The Federals were presently reinforced by Hancock's corps, and took their stand along the crest of Cemetery Ridge, a chain of small hills just south of Gettysburg. It was a position of formidable strength, and Meade brought up the rest of the army to secure it.

Lee's invasion of Pennsylvania.

The battle of Gettysburg, July 1-3, 1863.

On July 2 the gallant Army of the Potomac was en-

camped along Cemetery Ridge, and Lee's army confronted it in a concave line extending along Seminary Ridge and past the town of Gettysburg to Rock Creek. General Longstreet, with the Confederate right wing, attacked the projecting angle¹ formed by Sickles's corps

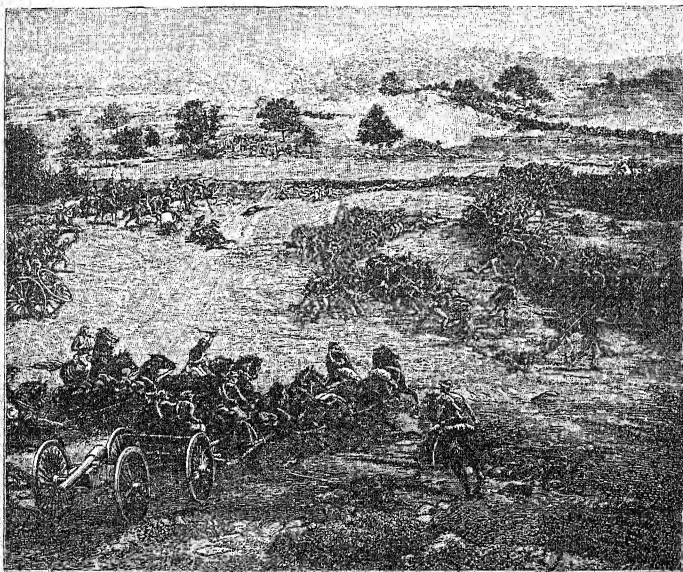


BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG.

in front of the hills called Round Top and Little Round Top. If Longstreet could have won these hills, the Union army might have been driven from the ridge and

¹ In military language such a projecting angle is called a *salient*. It is a weak formation, because there is a point in front from which the enemy's fire can enfilade or rake both its sides. In spite of this defect, the salient has its uses.

defeated. After a desperate fight, the Sickles angle was driven in, but the Federals held the Round Top hills securely. At the other end of the line there was also severe fighting; Ewell tried to capture Culp's Hill and gain the Baltimore road; he secured a foothold on



PICKETT'S CHARGE AT GETTYSBURG.¹

Culp's Hill and passed the night there, but at daybreak Meade attacked him with great fury and drove him off.

Thus both the Confederate attacks on July 2 had failed, and both the Union flanks were safe. Lee's only remaining hope of defeating Meade was to break through his centre. About one o'clock, on July 3, he began a mighty cannonade, and after a couple of hours

¹ From the cyclorama of the Battle of Gettysburg, by permission of The National Panorama Co.

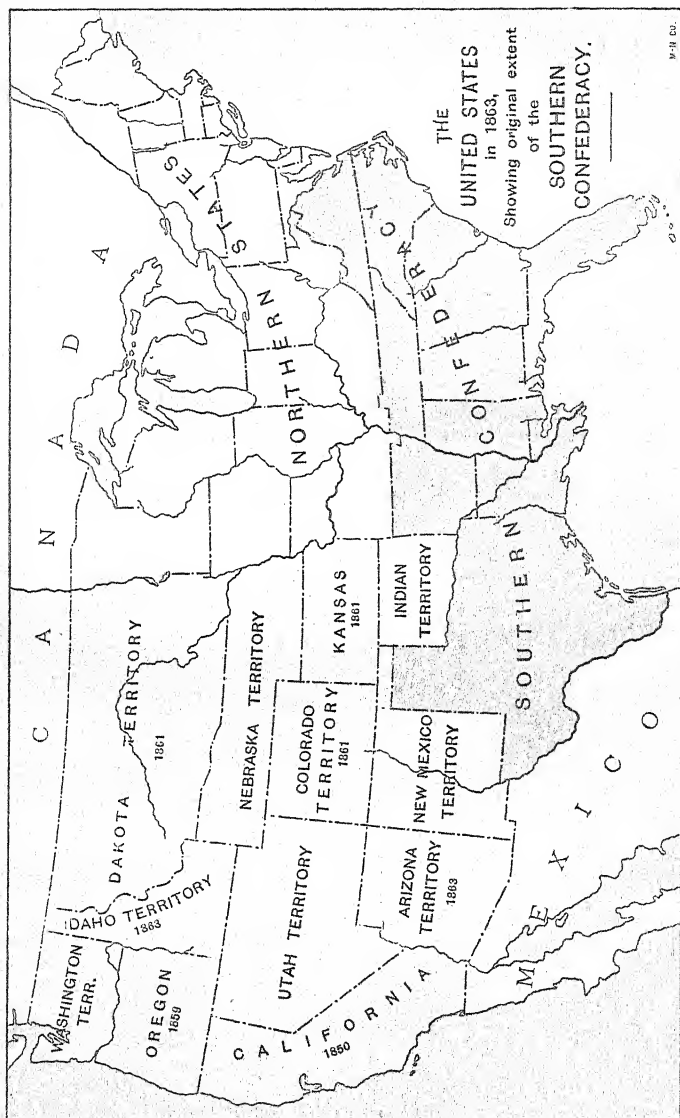
sent forward General Pickett, with a column of 15,000 men, against Hancock's position. This gallant and desperate charge was repulsed with terrible slaughter, and the Union army remained victorious. Lee kept his position through the 4th of July, and next day began his retreat to Virginia.

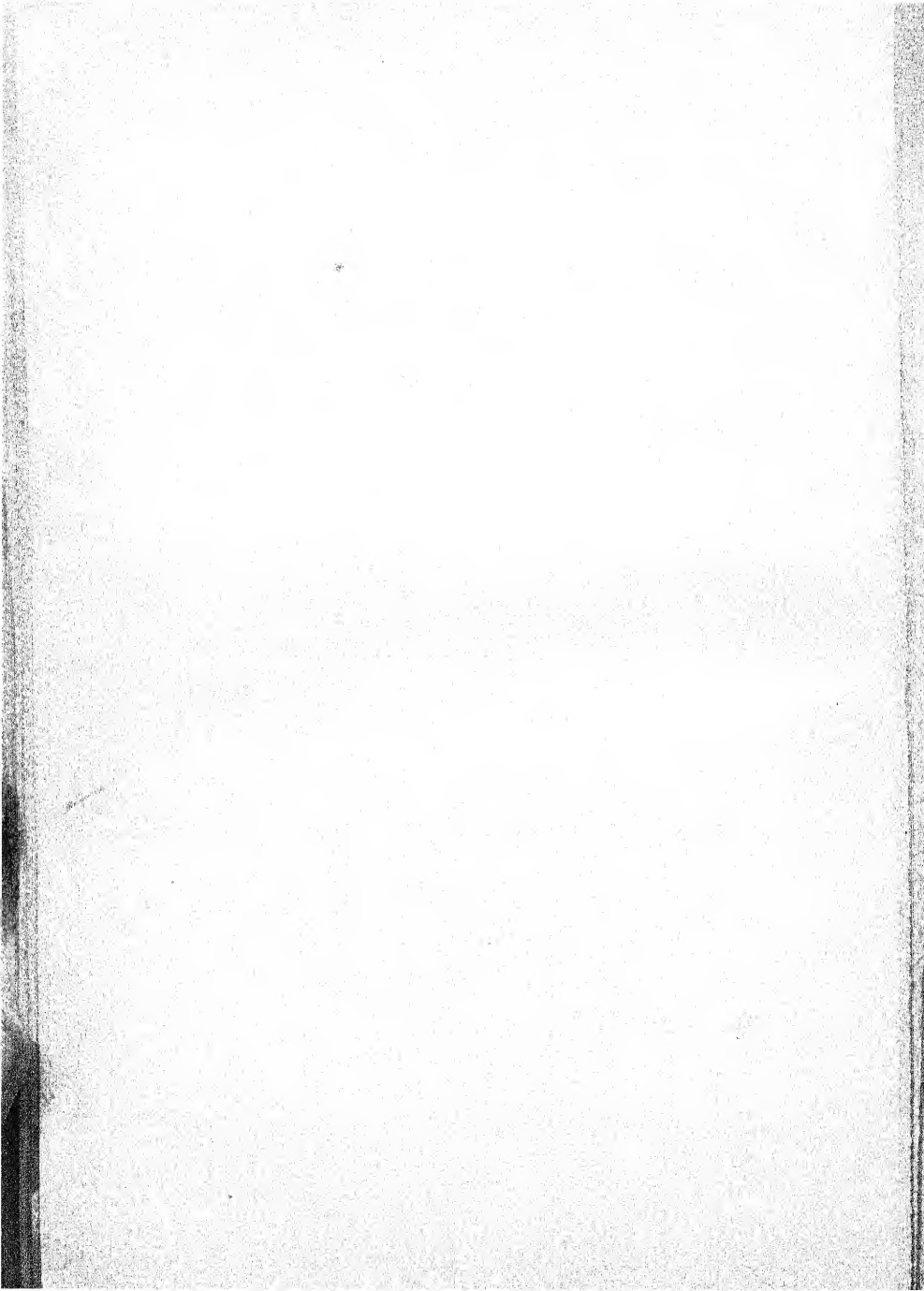
In this tremendous battle about 80,000 Union troops were engaged, and their loss in killed, wounded, and missing was over 23,000. The Confederate army numbered about 73,000, and its losses reached 31,000. Probably no field of battle was ever more obstinately contested.

Scarcely had the news from Gettysburg reached people's ears when it was also learned that on the 4th of July the great stronghold of Vicksburg had surrendered to General Grant. Since May 18 his grasp

The capture of Vicksburg.

upon that position had not been relaxed. Johnston had not succeeded in approaching the place, or in disturbing Grant's operations in any way; and when people in the city were nearly starving, and Pemberton saw that there was no hope of relief from outside, he surrendered the place, with his army of 32,000 men. A few days afterward Port Hudson surrendered to General Banks, and in the vigorous language of President Lincoln, "the Father of Waters rolled unvexed to the sea." Grant was made a major-general in the regular army, and was henceforth the most conspicuous commander on the Northern side. The importance of the capture of Vicksburg could not be overrated. The military pressure which could be brought to bear upon the remaining portions of the Confederacy was greatly increased. The Army of the Tennessee was soon free to go and help the Army of the Cumberland.





After Gettysburg and Vicksburg, it became clear to all open-minded observers that the South was playing a desperate and losing game. But its capacity for resistance was not yet at an end.

149. How the War was Supported. After war had begun, the cost of the Federal army and navy soon reached \$1,000,000 per day, and before the end of 1863 it had risen to three times that amount. To meet such formidable expenses, it was necessary to resort to unusual ways of raising revenue. The duties on imposts were in many cases increased, and there were various kinds of internal taxes, as, for example, ^{The Greenbacks.} on incomes, and on pianos, billiard-tables, gold watches, and other things classed as luxuries. Stamps were required on all bank checks and receipted bills, as well as on many legal and commercial documents. Besides this increase of taxation, Congress resorted to borrowing sums of money, in exchange for which it issued bonds bearing interest at a specified rate; at the end of a specified time such bonds were to be redeemed. But all these methods seemed insufficient, and in 1862 Congress passed the Legal Tender Act, authorizing the issue of small promissory notes, similar to bank bills. From their color these notes were called "greenbacks." They were made a "legal tender;" that is to say, any debtor could offer them instead of gold in discharge of a debt, and the creditor could not refuse to receive them. There were only two exceptions to the legal tender quality of the notes. It was felt that the credit of the government would be better sustained, and its bonds more readily taken, if the interest on the national debt were to be paid in coin; this was therefore decreed, and in order to get the needful coin, all custom-house duties had to be paid in gold.

*Address delivered at the dedication of the
Cemetery at Gettysburg.*

*Four score and seven years ago our fathers
brought forth on this continent, a new na-
tion, conceived in liberty, and dedicated
to the proposition that all men are cre-
ated equal.*

*Now we are engaged in a great civil war,
testing whether that nation, or any nation
so conceived and so dedicated, can long
endure. We are met on a great battlefield
of that war. We have come to dedicate a
portion of that field, as a final resting
place for those who here gave themselves
that that nation might live. It is alto-
gether fitting and proper that we should
do this.*

But, in a larger sense, we can not ded-

¹ From *Abraham Lincoln: A History*, by John G. Nicolay and John Hay.
By permission of the authors.

For its quiet depth of feeling and solemn beauty of expression this speech is
rightly regarded as one of the great masterpieces of English prose.

cate — we can not consecrate — we can not
hallow this ground. The brave men, living
and dead, who struggled here have con-
secrated it, far above our poor power to add
or detract. The world will little note, nor
long remember what we say here; but it can
never forget what they did here. It is for us
the living, rather, to be dedicated here to
the unfinished work which they who fought
here have thus far so nobly advanced.
It is rather for us to be here dedicated to
the great task remaining before us — that
from these honored dead we take increased
devotion to that cause for which they gave
the last full measure of devotion — that
we here highly resolve that these dead shall
not have died in vain — that this nation,
under God, shall have a new birth of free-
dom — and that government of the people,
by the people, for the people, shall not per-
ish from the earth.

Abraham Lincoln

November 19, 1863.

All coin disappeared from circulation, even silver dimes and quarters. For a short time people accepted postage-stamps for small change, but soon Congress issued little notes for the purpose, and these remained in circulation for several years. The value of the greenbacks fluctuated according to the extent of people's faith that they would ever be redeemed. A Federal victory would send them up, a Confederate success would send them down; but as time went on without seeing the war ended, the downward tendency inclined to prevail. Early in 1862 the greenback dollar was equivalent to 98 cents in gold; late in 1863 it had fallen to about 75 cents; and the lowest point was reached in July, 1864, a year after Gettysburg and Vicksburg, when it was worth scarcely more than 35 cents. The prices of all articles bought with these paper notes rose to an extravagant point.

An excellent National Bank act was passed in 1863. It had nothing to do with the old National Bank question that men argued and almost fought over in the days of Andrew Jackson. It was a device for guaranteeing the issues of local banks in all parts of the country. It provided that any bank which should deposit United States

The
National
Bank act. bonds with the United States Treasurer at Washington could issue notes to the amount of nine tenths of the par value of these bonds.

Banks making such deposits were known as national banks. Since the notes were secured by the bonds, each national bank had the credit of the United States behind it; consequently the notes were accepted as widely as greenbacks. Hitherto the notes of a state bank were liable to be refused in places distant from home, and this was often inconvenient and annoying. Afterwards the notes of state banks, that had not

obtained the national guarantee, were extinguished by putting a tax upon them.

In May, 1863, as voluntary enlistments seemed to be proceeding too slowly for the needs of the army, Congress passed an act providing for a conscription or draft. This act was not a severe one, ^{The Draft Riots.} nor was it very rigorously enforced. Any conscript, or "drafted" person, could be exempted from service by hiring a substitute, or providing \$300 for that purpose. Various other exemptions were permitted. But the draft was generally disliked, and served to sharpen and embitter the discontent which prevailed after the defeat at Chancellorsville. In some places the wave of feeling grew so strong that even the glorious victories of the first week in July failed to check it. In New York, on the 13th of that month, resistance took on the form of a riot, and a mob of ruffians held control of the city for four days, burning and plundering. The negro race, as the innocent cause of the war, was an object of special odium and violence; many negroes were hanged to lamp-posts, an asylum for colored orphans was burned, and the lives of prominent abolitionists were threatened. It was necessary to call a few regiments from the army, and they quickly dispersed the rioters with heavy slaughter.

The Confederate States could raise no revenue from imports, for all their ports were blockaded, and from internal taxes on a great variety of articles ^{Distress at the South.} they could not raise nearly so much as the United States. They issued bonds and notes which fell in value as the war went on until they became mere waste paper. In the autumn of 1863 a suit of clothes in Richmond cost \$700 in currency, and flour was \$100 per barrel; before the war ended, it was \$1500 per

barrel. Conscription was resorted to early in the war; late in 1863 it was extended to all men between the ages of 17 and 55, and substitutes were not allowed.

150. The Campaign in Tennessee. In September, Rosecrans compelled Bragg to evacuate Chattanooga, but in manœuvring among the mountains south of that place he became exposed to attack under unfavorable circumstances. Longstreet was sent by Lee from Virginia to Bragg's assistance, and thus strongly reinforced, Bragg came to blows with Rosecrans in the valley of Chickamauga, September 19 and 20. It was a fearful contest, in which 125,000 men were engaged, and nearly 40,000 were killed or wounded. The Federal right wing was routed and driven off the field, but the left wing, commanded by General Thomas, held its own and saved the army. But for this, Chickamauga might have been a Federal disaster capable of offsetting the victory at Gettysburg. No war known to history has seen more magnificent fighting than that of Thomas at Chickamauga. As it was, the advantage in that battle was slightly with the Confederates.

Rosecrans held Chattanooga, which was the prize of the campaign, but Bragg besieged him there, occupying the strong positions of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge, and cutting off most of the avenues of supply. For a short time, the Union army in Chattanooga seemed in danger of starving. In October, Rosecrans was removed, and the command of the Army of the Cumberland was given to Thomas. The Army of the Tennessee, now commanded by Sherman, was brought up from Vicksburg. Grant was put in command of both these armies, and of all forces west of the Alleghanies. Hooker was sent from Virginia with

The battle
of Chick-
mauga.

reinforcements, so that in the next great battle portions of all three of the main Federal armies took part. That battle, which was fought about Chattanooga, November 24 and 25, was the only one of the war in which the four most famous Union generals — Grant, Sherman, Thomas, and Sheridan — were all present together. Bragg was totally defeated, and the area of the Confederacy was practically cut down to the four states of Georgia, the two Carolinas, and Virginia.

The battle of Chattanooga.

151. General Grant in Virginia. In March, 1864, Grant was made lieutenant-general, — a rank which before him had been held only by Washington and Scott among United States commanders. Henceforth, Grant commanded all the Federal armies, but gave his immediate attention to the Army of the Potomac, which Meade continued to command under his supervision. Grant advanced directly against Lee along the difficult route from Fredericksburg to Richmond, and in the course of May and June, 1864, in the fearful battles of the Wilderness, Spottsylvania, and Cold Harbor, he lost 64,000 men, and at length reached the Chickahominy River, near McClellan's old positions. He did not stay there, but crossed the James River and advanced upon Petersburg, where Lee continued to hold him at bay till the next spring. In the course of the summer, Lee was even able once more to alarm the government at Washington by sending Jubal Early on an expedition through the Shenandoah valley. After a romantic campaign, Early was completely defeated by Sheridan. On one occasion, October 19, while Sheridan was at Winchester, Early suddenly attacked his army at Cedar Creek, nearly twenty miles away. The Union army was driven back about

Grant made lieutenant-general.



Sheridan.



Sherman.



Grant.



Thomas.



Meade.

The portrait of Grant is the one referred to in connection with the Lincoln portrait on page 369. The other four are from the collection of the Massachusetts Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States.

seven miles. Meanwhile, Sheridan, who had heard the distant sound of cannon, was galloping at full speed toward the scene of action. As he approached the field and met squads of fugitives on the road, he shouted, "Turn, boys, turn; we're going back." One and all rallied to his side, and defeat was soon turned into victory.

152. The Capture of Atlanta. After Bragg's defeat at Chattanooga, he was superseded by Joseph Johnston, who was obliged to retreat further and further into Georgia before Sherman's superior force. After the three battles of Resaca, Dallas, and Kenesaw Mountain, in which about 35,000 men were killed or wounded, Sherman reached Atlanta. Johnston was superseded by Hood, who made two bloody but unavailing sorties, and, on September 2, Sherman took Atlanta.

153. The Approach of the End. The South was nearly exhausted, although Lee's prolonged resistance, and such threatening attempts as Early's, still disguised the fact from many people. Clothes, food, and implements of war were getting scarce, and the blockade was kept up so strictly that supplies could not get into southern ports. One by one these ports had themselves fallen into the hands of the Federal navy, and one of the last was Mobile, the harbor of which was finally closed by Farragut's victory, in August, 1864. Nothing was left but Fort Fisher, in North Carolina, which surrendered to General Terry and Admiral Porter, in the following January. As for the Confederate cruisers on the ocean, they were captured one after another. The most famous of them, the Alabama, encountered the United States frigate Kearsarge, off the coast of France, and in a fight of less than an hour was knocked to pieces and sunk.

Exhaustion of the South.

The fate of the Alabama.

The Republicans nominated Abraham Lincoln for a second term, and with him they nominated for vice-president a War Democrat, Andrew Johnson, who, after the fall of Fort Donelson, had been appointed military governor of Tennessee. A faction of radical Republicans, who were dissatisfied with Lincoln, nominated Fremont, but he withdrew from the contest before the election. The Democrats nominated General McClellan, and in their platform called for a cessation of hostilities on the ground that the war was a failure. In the election, eleven states, concerned in the rebellion, did not vote. Of the electoral votes, Lincoln obtained 212, and McClellan 21.

154. Sherman's March to the Sea. After Sherman took Atlanta, Hood moved northwestwardly into middle Tennessee, hoping to draw Sherman after him and relieve Georgia. But the Federal superiority in numbers was such that Sherman could now afford to divide his army. He sent back part of it under Thomas to look after Hood. As for himself, he continued his march through Georgia. Hood was repulsed at Franklin, November 30, by Schofield. His ruin was completed by Thomas in the great battle of Nashville, December 15 and 16, where 100,000 men were engaged. Hood lost more than 15,000 men, and his army was routed and scattered. Resistance at the West thus came to an end.

About the middle of November, Sherman had started from Atlanta with 60,000 men, and marched through Georgia to the seacoast, where he captured Savannah just before Christmas. All along the three hundred miles of his march he destroyed the railroads and devastated a belt of fertile country sixty miles in width, destroying the last resources

The election of 1864.

The battle of Nashville.

The march through Georgia.

that might be available for the remnant of the Confederacy in the Carolinas and Virginia.

155. The End of the War. It thus became impossible for Lee to hold out much longer. In February, Sherman began his advance northward through the Carolinas, again encountering Johnston, whom he defeated at Goldsborough, March 19. Lee's last chance was to abandon Richmond to its fate and effect a junc-



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VILLAGE OF APPOMATTOX COURT HOUSE.¹

tion with Johnston. This scheme was frustrated by Sheridan in the battle of Five Forks, April 1, which turned Lee's right flank and threatened his rear. Next morning, the Confederates were obliged to abandon Petersburg. Their government fled from Richmond, and Lee, driven westward, was headed off at Appomattox Court House, where, on the 9th of April, he surrendered to Grant the remnant

Lee's surrender at Appomattox.

¹ From a war-time photograph reproduced in *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*. The house on the right, with the veranda, is Mr. McLean's house, in which the articles of capitulation were agreed upon and signed.

of his army, only 26,000 men. A fortnight later, Johnston surrendered his army to Sherman. On the 10th of May, Jefferson Davis was captured near Irwinsville, in Georgia, and was sent as a prisoner to Fortress Monroe.¹

The public rejoicings at the end of the war were



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UNION SOLDIERS SHARING THEIR RATIONS WITH CONFEDERATES AFTER
LEE'S SURRENDER.²

turned into such deep and heartfelt sorrow as has seldom been caused by the death of any public man. On the evening of April 14, as President Lincoln was sitting in a box at Ford's Theatre, in Washington, with wife and friends about him, a man came quietly into the box behind him and shot him through the head.

¹ In 1866, Davis was indicted for treason, but was released on bail in the following year, and the proceedings against him were dropped. His later years were spent quietly at his home in Mississippi. He died in 1889.

² From a war-time sketch reproduced in *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*.

The assassin then leaped upon the stage, shouting, "Sic semper tyrannis" (So be it always to tyrants). One of his spurs caught in the folds of the American flag that was draped in front of the box, so that he was thrown heavily to the floor and broke a leg. The confusion was so great that in spite of this accident he escaped through a stage door. The man who had chosen this theatrical way of committing murder was a young actor named John Wilkes Booth. The crime was part of a conspiracy, and, on that same evening, the secretary of state, William Seward, was attacked and stabbed, though not fatally, in his own house. The details of the conspiracy were unravelled. Booth was hunted down by soldiers and shot in a barn; four of his accomplices were hanged, and others imprisoned for life. The conspirators had hoped to paralyze the government, but within three hours after the noble and beloved Lincoln had passed away, Andrew Johnson had begun to act as president.

The assassination of Lincoln.

TOPICS AND QUESTIONS.

129. REVIEW OF THE SITUATION AS TO SLAVERY.

1. How the Ohio River came to be a dividing line between freedom and slavery.
2. Concessions to slaveholders:
 - a. The apportionment of representation.
 - b. The slave trade.
 - c. Fugitive slaves.
3. The first dispute over the slavery question and how it was compromised.
4. Why did the slaveholders press a second time for more territory?
5. How did they secure it?
6. Westward expansion and the third opening of the slavery question.

130. THE COMPROMISES OF 1850.

1. Settling the slavery question forever.

2. The question up again in the case of California.
 3. Henry Clay's efforts to satisfy both parties.
 4. The two essential points of the compromise measures.
 5. The accession of Fillmore to the presidency.
 6. The invasion of Cuba.
 7. The election of 1852.
131. THE SLAVERY QUESTION UPPERMOST.
1. The slavery discussion renewed.
 2. New leaders of the people.
 3. The Fugitive Slave Law :
 - a. Its design.
 - b. The law of 1793.
 - c. The rise and character of the "personal liberty" laws.
 - d. The law of 1850.
 - e. Its denial of a trial by jury.
 - f. More stringent "personal liberty" laws.
 - g. Effect of the enforcement of the law on the North.
 - h. The Anthony Burns episode.
 4. *Uncle Tom's Cabin.*
 5. The "underground railroad."
 6. Filibustering expeditions and their motive.
 7. The Ostend Manifesto.
132. THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA BILL.
1. Why was the repeal of the Missouri Compromise desired?
 2. How had some southern statesmen viewed it?
 3. Tell about Douglas, and his interest in the Platte country.
 4. What were his views about admitting states as slave or free?
 5. How was his theory named, and why?
 6. What were the leading features of his famous bill?
 7. What was the effect of its passage on the North and the South?
 8. Describe the origin of the Republican party.
 9. What change took place in the character of the Democratic party?
 10. Tell the story of the struggle for Kansas.
 11. Give an illustration of the evil passions kindled by this strife.
133. THE KNOW-NOTHING PARTY.
1. What led to the formation of this party?
 2. Tell its leading principles.

3. Account for its peculiar name.
 4. Into what party did it develop?
 5. What parties contended in the elections of 1856, and with what success?
134. A SITUATION FULL OF DANGER.
1. The South alarmed by the Republican party.
 2. The bold demands of the southern leaders.
 3. The acquiescence of Presidents Pierce and Buchanan.
 4. The Dred Scott case:
 - a. Dred Scott's life in Illinois and Minnesota.
 - b. What suit did he bring in Missouri, and why?
 - c. The decision of the Supreme Court.
 - d. The practical effect of this decision.
 5. The resumption of the slave trade.
 6. Forcing a slave constitution on Kansas.
 7. A break heralded in the Democratic party.
135. THE DEBATE BETWEEN LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS.
1. The life of Abraham Lincoln:
 - a. His parentage.
 - b. His schooling.
 - c. His early business career.
 - d. His political service.
 - e. His insight into men and things.
 - f. His power in oratory and debate.
 - g. Traits of character.
 2. The occasion for the debate.
 3. The effect on Douglas's career.
136. DIFFERENCES PAST HEALING.
1. The career and character of John Brown.
 2. His raid on Harper's Ferry, and the result.
 3. The motive that led to it.
 4. The effect on the southern mind.
 5. The four parties in the election of 1860.
 6. The result of the election, and its cause.
137. THE SECESSION OF SEVERAL STATES.
1. The action of South Carolina.
 2. The action of other states.
 3. A new government organized.
 4. Its constitution and chief officers.
 5. United States forts and arsenals.
 6. The Crittenden Compromise.

7. The Peace Conference.
8. The uncertain state of northern feeling.
9. Lincoln at the White House.
138. A SURVEY OF THE SITUATION.
 1. The changes of seventy years :
 - a.* In the population of Great Britain and Ireland.
 - b.* In the population of the United States.
 - c.* In the merchant shipping of the United States.
 - d.* In the population of the free states and slave.
 - e.* In the wealth of the free states and slave.
 2. A military advantage of the South.
 3. Three disappointments of the South :
 - a.* As to the attitude of all the slave states.
 - b.* As to the attitude of the northern Democrats.
 - c.* As to the attitude of France and England.
 4. The blockade expected by the South, and why ?
 5. The effect of the blockade on cotton exports and English business.
 6. The refusal of France to recognize southern independence.
 7. The refusal of England to recognize southern independence.
139. BEGINNING OF THE WAR.
 1. The capture of Fort Sumter :
 - a.* The ownership of the fort if the right of secession existed.
 - b.* The ownership of the fort if the right of secession did not exist.
 - c.* President Buchanan's attitude towards the question.
 - d.* President Lincoln's action on the question.
 - e.* The warning of Robert Toombs.
 - f.* The action of Jefferson Davis.
 - g.* The bombardment.
 2. Three proclamations.
 3. The first bloodshed.
140. THE LIMITS OF THE REBELLION DEFINED.
 1. Effect on the North of the capture of Fort Sumter.
 2. The patriotic stand of Douglas.
 3. The feeling in the border states.
 4. Union sentiment in the South.
 5. How Virginia gave strength to the Confederacy.
 6. How Missouri was saved to the Union.

7. How Kentucky's stand was determined :
 - a. Divisions in public sentiment.
 - b. President Lincoln's policy.
 - c. The Confederate invasion and its effect.
 - d. The Union reply.
 - e. The action of the Kentucky legislature.
141. FIRST HEAVY FIGHTING.
 1. The battle of Bull Run.
 2. Its effect on the North and the South.
 3. Other military events in the East :
 4. The Trent affair :
 - a. The Confederate commissioners.
 - b. Their capture.
 - c. Why they were given up.
 5. Confederate cruisers.
142. A REVOLUTION IN NAVAL WARFARE.
 1. The transformation of the Merrimac.
 2. The havoc it wrought in Hampton Roads.
 3. The consternation of the North.
 4. The Monitor and its turret.
 5. The battle of the ironclads.
 6. The effect of this battle on the navies of the world.
143. CONFEDERATE LINES OF DEFENSE IN THE SOUTHWEST.
 1. The position of the first Confederate line.
 2. The armies opposed to the Confederates.
 3. General Thomas and the Confederate right.
 4. General Grant and the Confederate centre.
 5. The capture of Fort Donelson and its consequences (1) for Grant and (2) for the Confederacy.
 6. The position of the second Confederate line.
 7. The battle of Shiloh and the result.
 8. The blockade of the coast.
 9. The Mississippi opened from below.
 10. The Mississippi opened from above.
 11. The only Confederate strongholds left.
144. McCLELLAN IN VIRGINIA.
 1. McClellan's plan of advance against Richmond.
 2. The government's wish, and the reason for it.
 3. The route determined upon.
 4. Measures to guard Washington.
 5. The siege of Yorktown.

6. The battle of Fair Oaks.
7. "Stonewall" Jackson in the Shenandoah.
8. The seven days' battles.
9. Halleck and his disposition of the Union armies.
10. The second battle of Bull Run.
11. Lee's invasion of Maryland and his reception there.
12. The capture of Harper's Ferry.
13. The battle of Antietam, and what came of it.
145. THE EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES.
 1. Why Lincoln had no thought at first of interfering with slavery.
 2. The problem of dealing with runaway slaves.
 3. The rule of modern warfare relating to private property.
 4. The rule of modern warfare relating to "contraband of war."
 5. General Butler's solution of the "runaway slave" problem.
 6. Union commanders freeing slaves by proclamation.
 7. Why Lincoln overruled such proclamations.
 8. Growth of the feeling that slavery should be abolished.
 9. A possible method proposed by John Quincy Adams.
 10. Lincoln's immortal proclamation.
146. GRANT AND ROSECRANS IN THE WEST.
 1. The war with the Sioux.
 2. Bragg's invasion of Kentucky.
 3. Victories by Rosecrans.
 4. Grant's investment of Vicksburg:
 - a. The Mississippi River and its basin.
 - b. Points of strategic advantage.
 - c. What the capture of Vicksburg involved.
 - d. Grant's first movement against Vicksburg.
 - e. Sherman's repulse.
 - f. Grant's second movement.
 - g. Difficulties to be overcome.
 - h. Two experiments and their outcome.
 - i. The initial movements of Grant's third scheme.
 - j. Eleven days of fighting, and the results.
 - k. Vicksburg not yet taken.
147. REVERSES IN THE EAST.
 1. A change in the command of the Army of the Potomac.
 2. The battle of Fredericksburg.

3. Another change in the command.
4. The battle of Chancellorsville.
5. The death of Stonewall Jackson.
148. THE TURNING OF THE TIDE.
 1. Lee's invasion of the North, and what he hoped to gain by it.
 2. A change in the command of the Army of the Potomac.
 3. The strategic importance of Gettysburg.
 4. The first day's fight at Gettysburg, and its issue.
 5. The second day's fight, and its issue.
 6. The third day's fight, and its issue.
 7. Numbers engaged and losses suffered.
 8. The capture of Vicksburg.
 9. The capture of Port Hudson.
 10. Importance of the capture of Vicksburg.
149. HOW THE WAR WAS SUPPORTED.
 1. The cost of the army and navy.
 2. Unusual ways of raising revenue.
 3. The resort to borrowing.
 4. The Legal Tender Act:
 - a. Why the notes under this act were called greenbacks.
 - b. Why they were called legal tender.
 - c. Two exceptions to their legal tender quality.
 - d. Substitutes for cash.
 - e. Fluctuations in the gold value of greenbacks.
 5. The National Bank Act.
 6. The advantage of national bank notes over those of the old state banks.
 7. The Draft Act, and how it was received.
 8. The New York riots.
 9. Revenue in the Confederate States.
 10. Prices of staple articles in Confederate money.
 11. Conscription in the South.
150. THE CAMPAIGN IN TENNESSEE.
 1. The battle of Chickamauga.
 2. The Union army shut up in Chattanooga.
 3. Reinforcements for the besieged.
 4. The battle of Chattanooga.
151. GENERAL GRANT IN VIRGINIA.
 1. Grant made lieutenant-general.
 2. His advance from Fredericksburg to Petersburg.

3. Early sent to the Shenandoah.
4. Defeat turned to victory.
152. THE CAPTURE OF ATLANTA.
 1. Bragg superseded.
 2. Battles fought to reach Atlanta.
 3. Johnston superseded.
 4. Atlanta taken.
153. THE APPROACH OF THE END.
 1. The exhaustion of the South concealed.
 2. Effect of the blockade.
 3. The loss of the southern ports.
 4. The fate of the Alabama.
 5. Nominations for the presidency.
 6. Result of the election.
154. SHERMAN'S MARCH TO THE SEA.
 1. Hood's plan to retrieve Georgia.
 2. How Sherman met it.
 3. The battle of Nashville.
 4. The march through Georgia.
 5. The destruction of property.
155. THE END OF THE WAR.
 1. Sherman's march northward.
 2. Lee's last chance.
 3. How Sheridan thwarted it.
 4. Petersburg captured.
 5. Lee's surrender.
 6. Johnston's surrender.
 7. The assassination of Lincoln.
 8. The crime a part of a conspiracy.

SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS AND DIRECTIONS.

1. What was it that made compromises on slavery questions so desirable? What was the object of these compromises? What might have happened if these compromises had not been made? What did happen at last in spite of all compromises that were planned to avert it?
2. What was the object of the Fugitive Slave Law? What reasons were given for it? What reasons were urged against it? The United States Constitution seemed to support which view? The moral sense of people in general inclined to which view?

3. Was the "underground railroad" legal or illegal? Was it a sin for a slave to run away from his master? Was it a crime? Why was Canada a place of safety for him when a free state was not? What is a dilemma? Into what dilemma did the Fugitive Slave Law put law-abiding citizens who believed slavery to be wrong?
4. What was the first political party that went into a presidential election on a platform of hostility to slavery? What was the first successful political party on this platform?
5. What was the doctrine of squatter sovereignty? What is the doctrine of local option in temperance matters?
6. How did the South defend their view that it was right to secede? What is the constitutional argument against secession? Was the Constitution of the United States made by the people or by the States? Has the power that made the Union the right to dissolve it? Whose property was Fort Sumter early in 1861? Why did the South view its attempted reinforcement as an act of war? Why did the North view the discharge of the first cannon upon Sumter as an act of war?
7. Number 11, of the *Old South Leaflets*, general series, contains Lincoln's first and second inaugural addresses, his preliminary and final emancipation proclamations, and his speech at the dedication of the national cemetery at Gettysburg. Read them, and find answers in them to such questions as these:
 - a. What stand did Lincoln take about the Fugitive Slave Law?
 - b. How did he propose to use his power about Sumter and other government property?
 - c. What did he say about continuing the mail service in the seceding states?
 - d. Tell some of the objections he urged against secession.
 - e. What did he conceive as a possible good reason for revolution?
 - f. After four years of war, what striking thought does he express in his second inaugural about slavery?
 - g. Explain his statement that the cause of the conflict ceased before the conflict itself ended.
 - h. Commit to memory the closing words of the first inaugural, beginning, "In your hands," etc.

greatly enhance, particularly for young people, the interest of the record. For schools that find it inexpedient to obtain the original work in four volumes, there is an illustrated abridgment which is less expensive. The following topics, contributed by the eminent authorities whose names are attached, will give some idea of the wealth and value of the material at the disposal of those who would know in greater detail the story of the war, and are admirable for collateral reading:

1. The first battle of Bull Run, by General G. T. Beauregard.
2. The capture of Fort Donelson, by General Lew Wallace.
3. The battle of Shiloh, by General U. S. Grant.
4. The building of the Monitor, by Captain John Ericsson.
5. The first fight of ironclads, by Colonel John T. Wood.
6. The opening of the lower Mississippi, by Admiral D. D. Porter.
7. McClellan organizing the grand army, by Philippe, Comte de Paris.
8. The peninsular campaign, by General George B. McClellan.
9. Manassas to Seven Pines, by General Joseph E. Johnston.
10. Stonewall Jackson in the Shenandoah, by General John D. Imboden.
11. The seven days' fighting, by Generals Fitz John Porter, Daniel H. Hill, W. B. Franklin, James Longstreet, and others.
12. Lee's invasion of Maryland, by General George B. McClellan.
13. Gettysburg, by Generals James Longstreet, Henry J. Hunt, and others.
14. The Vicksburg campaign, by General U. S. Grant.
15. Chattanooga, by General U. S. Grant.
16. The Wilderness campaign, by General U. S. Grant.
17. The grand strategy of the last year, by General W. T. Sherman.
18. The struggle for Atlanta, by General O. O. Howard.
19. The defense of Atlanta, by General John B. Hood.
20. Up and down the Shenandoah, by Generals John D. Imboden, Franz Sigel, Jubal A. Early, Wesley Merritt, and others.
21. Cruise and combats of the Alabama, by Captain John M. Kell.
22. The duel between the Alabama and Kearsarge, by John M. Browne.

23. Sherman's march through the Confederacy, by Generals O. O. Howard, Henry W. Slocum, Wade Hampton, and others.
24. The fall of Richmond, by General Horace Porter.

CHAPTER XVI.

RECENT EVENTS. 1865-1895.

Johnson's Administration.

Republican: 1865-1869.

156. Cost of the War. At the time of Lee's surrender, the Federal government had more than a million men under arms; in less than six months they had all gone home to their families and their business, except the little nucleus of 50,000 men constituting our regular army.¹ No shameful executions for treason were allowed to sully the glorious triumph of the United States. The captured Confederate prisoners were set free on parole, — about 175,000 in all. The war had proved that our Federal Union is indestructible, and it had rid it of the curse of slavery. This doubly glorious result had cost the country perhaps a million lives, besides wealth difficult to estimate, and it left a national debt of nearly three thousand million dollars, besides something infinitely worse, a depreciated paper currency.

157. The Era of Reconstruction. The assassin's pistol deprived the southerners of their kindest and most powerful friend. President Johnson's views about reconstructing the Union seem to have been much like Lincoln's, but Johnson was wanting in tact and discretion and had little influence with Congress.

¹ The regular army afterward was reduced to 25,000 men, which had been its old number before the war.

Loyal state governments had been formed in Tennessee, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Virginia. Johnson recognized them, and authorized the other states to call conventions to form loyal governments. A thirteenth amendment had just been added to the Constitution, abolishing slavery wherever it still existed throughout the Union. Johnson's state conventions ratified this amendment, repealed the ordinances of secession, and repudiated the Confederate war debt. Then, according to his view of the case, the seceded states were entitled to be recognized as states in the Union with full powers.

The thirteenth amendment, 1865.

Congress, however, thought that further guarantees were necessary. It created the Freedmen's Bureau, for the protection of emancipated slaves and also of poor whites. It passed a Civil Rights bill, guaranteeing to negroes rights of citizenship. It demanded that every candidate for office in the southern states must be able to swear that he had not taken part in secession; this was called the "ironclad oath." A fourteenth amendment was proposed, the effect of which would be to deprive any state of representation for its negro population unless its negroes should be allowed to vote.

Under such conditions, eight of the eleven states — all except Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas — were "reconstructed" and allowed to resume their places in the Union. The governments formed in these eight states were neither satisfactory to their people nor likely to endure. The ironclad oath kept nearly all respectable people out of office, since nearly all such had taken part in the war, and a swarm of greedy northern adventurers, known as "carpet-baggers," settled down upon the southern states and set up governments supported

largely by negro votes. To preserve order, a small Federal force was still maintained, and the unpopular carpet-bag governments looked to it for protection.

Nearly all the measures of Congress were passed over the president's veto, and feelings grew so bitter that a Tenure of Office bill was passed, forbidding the president to remove any civil office holder without the consent of the Senate. Infraction

Impeachment of the president.

of this law by the president was to be a high misdemeanor. In spite of this, the angry president undertook to defy the Senate by removing Edwin Stanton, secretary of war, whom he especially disliked. Then the House of Representatives impeached the president before the Senate for high crimes and misdemeanors. If found



ANDREW JOHNSON.¹

guilty, he would be incapable of holding office, and would therefore cease to be president; and in that case, Benjamin Wade, president of the Senate, would have taken his place. Chief Justice Chase presided over the trial, and a two thirds vote was necessary for conviction. When the vote was taken, May 16, 1868, it stood 35 for conviction and 19 for acquittal. The president was therefore saved by one vote. Of those who voted for acquittal, seven were Republicans.

During our Civil War, a French army had been sent to Mexico by Napoleon III., regardless of our protests,

¹ From Savage's *Life of Andrew Johnson*.

and an imperial government had been set up there, with Maximilian, one of the Austrian archdukes, for emperor. After our war was ended, our government said things to Napoleon III. which caused him to withdraw his troops. Then the unfortunate Maximilian was soon dethroned, and in June, 1867, he was shot.

In the year 1866 permanent telegraphic communication between Europe and America was established by a submerged cable stretching from Ireland to Newfoundland. In October, 1867, the vast territory of Alaska — valuable for furs, fisheries, timber, and, to some extent, for metals — was bought from Russia for about \$7,000,000.

Next year the Republicans nominated General Grant for President, and the Democrats nominated Horatio Seymour, who had been governor of New York. All the states voted except Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas. Seymour had 80 electoral votes, Grant had 214, and was elected.

Grant's Administrations.

Republican: 1869-1877.

158. The Progress of the Country. The census reports of 1870 showed that, in spite of the war, the country had been rapidly increasing in population and wealth. The population had reached 38,000,000 (not much more than half of the number in 1895), and manufactures had doubled in value since the election of Lincoln. The year 1869 saw the completion of the Union Pacific railroad, linking the Atlantic and Pacific oceans with a line of continuous rail, so that President Grant might have travelled from New York to San Francisco in just the

same time (one week) that it took President Washington to travel from New York to Boston.

After the Civil War, there was a general improvement in educational methods and in schools. Americans became more interested in foreign countries; there was more travelling; more and better books were read. More attention was paid to music and the fine arts. Literature reached a higher level than ever. Longfellow, Whittier, Emerson, and Holmes were at the height of their powers. James Russell Lowell, whose Biglow Papers, written during the Mexican War and the Civil

Our great writers.

War, are probably the greatest political poems in existence, now filled the measure of his fame by writing series after series of masterly essays in criticism. Among American writers of history, the two greatest names are John Lothrop Motley and Francis Parkman. Of Motley's noble



JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL.

work on the Netherlands, the first volumes were published in the times of President Buchanan, the last appeared in the times of President Grant; and, in these latter days, Parkman was in the full tide of work upon his great history of France and England in North America, two volumes of which had lately appeared.

159. The Treaty of Washington. The most important political event of Grant's administration was the settlement of the difficulties which had grown out of the remissness of Great Britain in allowing Confederate

cruisers to sail from her ports. The United States claimed damages, and, as the Alabama was the most famous of the cruisers, these claims for damages were often known as the "Alabama claims." The feeling on the subject was at times almost warlike. But by a treaty arranged at Washington, Great Britain and the



FRANCIS PARKMAN.



JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY.

United States agreed to submit the matter to arbitration. An impartial board of arbitrators met at Geneva, in Switzerland, and, after hearing the case, awarded \$15,500,000 damages to the United States. At the same time, a question relating to the boundary between the United States and British Columbia was referred to the Emperor of Germany and settled by him. Thus did England and America set the world an example, which it is to be hoped will be extensively followed, of settling grave international disputes without fighting.

Another event of this time, which circumstances might invest with international importance, was the

The Alabama claims.

acknowledgment, by Germany and England, of the right of *expatriation*; that is, the right of a citizen to abandon his own country and become a citizen of another. Expatriation. It was formerly held that this could not be done; it was held, for instance, that an Englishman might dwell for years in the United States, without any intention of returning to England, and still he would owe allegiance to England. The British government had acted upon this theory in the Revolutionary War and the war of 1812, when it seized Englishmen found on board American ships. The question was sometimes important in the case of an emigrant from Germany to America returning to his fatherland for a visit. Was such a man a German or an American? Could a German government draft him for service in the German army? The United States government has always insisted upon the right of expatriation. In 1868, a treaty was made with Germany, in which that nation acknowledged the right. Two years afterwards England admitted it, and the right of expatriation is coming to be generally established.

160. The Fifteenth Amendment. In 1870 was adopted the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution, which provides that "the right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." This guaranteed to all adult negroes the right of voting.

The carpet-bag governments at the South, supported by Federal troops, were the cause of much trouble and ill-feeling. The southern people, already impoverished by the combined afflictions of war, blockade, and paper currency, were now still further burdened with taxes assessed by negroes Carpet-bag government.

and northern adventurers. Attempts to influence elections illegally were frequent. Bands of armed men belonging to an organization known as the "Ku Klux Klan" sought to intimidate negroes, and sometimes committed deeds of violence. On the other hand, boards of canvassers were appointed for determining the results of disputed elections by manipulating the figures in counting the votes. These were called "Returning Boards." There were several instances in which the peace of a state was threatened by the presence of two rival governors and two rival legislatures, each fulminating against the other. But as by degrees the iron-clad oath was relaxed, and the better class of southern citizens came back into power, the condition of affairs improved.¹

161. The Election of 1872. Since President Jackson's time, the number of officers in the civil service had enormously increased, and the abuses inseparable from the spoils system had increased in even greater proportion. There now went up a cry for reform in the civil service, and the discontent, as is always the case, served to weaken the political party actually in power. In May, 1872, a body of "Liberal Republicans," favoring stringent civil service reform and the removal of Federal troops from the south, held a convention for nominating a candidate for the presidency. It was intended to present a candidate whom the Democrats could heartily support, and it was generally believed that the person would be Charles Francis Adams (son of President John Quincy Adams),

¹ On Christmas, 1868, full amnesty was proclaimed for political offences connected with the rebellion of the southern states. In May, 1872, the Amnesty act removed political disability from all southerners except about 350 persons who had held high positions under the Confederacy.

who had won high distinction as minister to Great Britain during the Civil War. But the convention nominated Horace Greeley, founder and editor of the New York "Tribune." The Democrats had already so set their hearts upon an alliance with the Liberal Republicans that they accepted this nomination. But Greeley's life-long hostility to the Democrats gave to his appearance as their presidential candidate a ludicrous air. In this election all the southern states took part. Of the 366 electoral votes, Grant obtained 286, and was elected. Greeley died before the electoral votes were cast, and the 80 minority votes were scattered.

162. The Panic of 1873, etc. Again, as in 1837, rapid westward growth and railroad building had developed an excessive amount of speculation, which was followed by a commercial crisis with frequent and disastrous failures in business. The distress was greatly aggravated by the vicious paper currency, which had produced an extreme inflation of prices. In 1867, a barrel of flour in Boston cost \$22.50, and a ton of hard coal \$14. At such times many people are apt to be haunted by a vague idea that more money is needed, — without regard to its intrinsic value, — and so they try to cure the evils of inflation by more inflation. After the panic of 1873, a bill for swelling the volume of the currency by a further issue of paper passed both houses of Congress, but President Grant vetoed it and thereby established a fresh claim upon the gratitude of the American people.

In spite of the panic, the effects of which endured several years, the Centennial Exhibition, or World's Fair, at Philadelphia, in 1876, was a great success. The series of centennial anniversaries, beginning with the anniversary of Lexington, in 1875, deserve mention as

the stimulus to a new and deeper general interest in the study of American history.

The progress of westward expansion has always been attended by trouble with the native tribes. Under

Indian Grant's presidency, there was a war with the wars. Modocs and another with the Sioux. It was in the latter war, in June, 1876, that the brave General Custer and his troops were encompassed by overwhelming numbers of Indians, and not one escaped alive.

In spite of such troubles, President Grant's general policy toward the red men was highly to the credit of his administration, and was quite in harmony with his humane and kindly nature. Remembering the admirable policy of William Penn, he entrusted the nomination of Indian agents to members of the Society of Friends, and the questions connected with the just treatment of Indians were set forth in such wise as to awaken general interest. The discussion led to the establishment of an Indian Rights Association, for protecting the red men.

163. Some Scandals. During the presidential campaign of 1872, the Democrats brought charges of bribery against sundry members of Congress and holders of high public offices. The Credit Mobilier¹ was a corporation chartered by the state of Pennsylvania and reorganized in 1864 for the purpose of enabling the shareholders of the Union Pacific Railway, and other persons connected with them, to reap extraordinary profits. The accusation against the persons above mentioned was that they had accepted presents of stock in the Credit Mobilier in exchange for political influence in favor of the Union Pacific. An

¹ The name is French, and means credit on personal property. It was copied from the name of a corporation established in France in 1852.

investigation resulted in the formal censure of two members of Congress.

The salaries of public officers in the United States have always been very small as compared with the usage in other great nations. In March, 1873, Congress raised the salary of the president from \$25,000 to \$50,000, that of the chief justice from \$8,500 to \$10,500, those of the vice-president, associate justices, cabinet officers, and speaker of the House of Representatives, from \$8,000 to \$10,000, and those of senators and representatives from \$5,000 to \$7,500. By The Salary Grab. another act, Congress made the change in the salaries of its own members date back to 1871. This last act, which was called the "Salary Grab," aroused such general indignation that it was repealed; several members of Congress refused on principle to accept the back pay. The next year all the salaries were reduced to their former figures, except those of the president and justices.

In the course of the year 1872 a combination of distillers and revenue officers was formed in St. Louis, for the purpose of defrauding the government by keeping back part of the internal revenue tax on whiskey and other distilled liquors. In The Whiskey Ring. the course of the next two years, this nefarious business spread far and wide, with branches in several large cities. In 1875 the affair was brought to light, more than 200 persons were indicted, and it was proved that within the past year the stealings had amounted to nearly \$2,000,000.

164. Election of 1876. The Liberal Republicans were by this time still further alienated from the great body of the party, and the experience of 1872 led such persons to vote with the Democrats rather than try again the experiment of an independent nomination.

This was made easier for them by the fact that the Democrats nominated a candidate whose name was identified with efforts toward reform, Samuel Jones Tilden, who had been governor of New York. The Republicans nominated Rutherford Burchard Hayes, of Ohio, — an excellent choice.

As the election returns first came in, there seemed to be no doubt that Tilden was elected. But in three of the southern states, carpet-bag governments still remained, and double returns were sent in, both for state officers and for presidential electors. These three states were South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana. It was observed that if all three of these states should be counted as Republican, it would make the total vote for Hayes 185, against 184 for Tilden. The manager of the Republican canvass, Zachariah Chandler, claimed them all. The Democrats denied the claim. The question was hard to settle, because the Senate was Republican and the House of Representatives Democratic, and, therefore, the two houses could not agree upon a method of counting the vote. In the case of each state sending double returns, it was necessary for the two houses to agree which return to accept, but on this they could never agree. There was a possibility of civil war in all this, and people grew anxious.

Besides the three carpet-bag states, there was one northern state that sent in double returns. In one return sent from Oregon the state's three votes were all Republican; in the other return two were Republican and one Democratic. If the latter return were accepted it would make Tilden's vote 185, and Hayes's only 184 even with all the three carpet-bag states.

Congress decided that in counting the votes, each disputed case should be referred to an Electoral Com-

mission, consisting of five senators, five representatives, and five judges of the Supreme Court. There must be an odd number, to avoid a tie. Care was taken to appoint seven Democrats and seven Republicans, while it was supposed that the fifteenth would be a judge — David Davis, of Illinois — who was known to be very independent of party. But it happened that Davis resigned, and the fifteenth place fell to a Republican judge. Thus every disputed case was referred to a tribunal consisting of eight Republicans and seven Democrats; and every such case was decided by a strict party vote of eight to seven. Thus it appeared that Hayes had 185 votes, and was elected. The final result was not declared until March 2, only two days before President Grant's term expired.

Hayes's Administration.

Republican: 1877-1881.

165. Important Measures of Finance. One of the first acts of President Hayes was to withdraw all Federal troops from the South, whereupon the last carpet-bag governments immediately fell. The administration of President Hayes was eminently respectable. The chief events of the administration were two: (1) In 1878, the Republican Senate and Democratic House agreed in passing the Bland Silver Bill, provid-



RUTHERFORD BURCHARD HAYES.

ing for the coinage of a silver dollar of $412\frac{1}{2}$ grains, making it a legal tender for debts, and ordering such dollars to be coined at a rate not less than two millions, nor more than four millions, each month. This act was vetoed by President Hayes, and Congress, by a two thirds vote, passed it over the veto. (2) In 1879, the government, after an interval of seventeen years, resumed specie payments; gold sold at par, and coin came back into circulation.

In 1877, public attention was called more forcibly than ever before to contests between workmen and their employers. Certain railroad companies, suffering from the long business depression since 1873, lowered the wages of their men. Consequently the men *struck*, or refused to work. Furthermore, some of the strikers tried to prevent their employers from hiring other men in their places, and to this end they threatened and persecuted other workmen who were ready to be hired. This sort of thing is called *boycotting*, from the name of one of its victims in Ireland, a Captain Boycott. In several of our large cities there were disturbances in 1877, connected with these attempts at boycotting. The trouble was most serious in Pittsburgh, where there were bloody riots, with destruction of more than \$3,000,000 worth of property. The riots were suppressed by troops, but they were only the first of a series which were from time to time to occur.

Election of 1880. The Democrats nominated General Hancock, mainly because of his brilliant record in the Civil War. He obtained 155 electoral votes. The Republicans nominated General Garfield, who obtained 214 votes, and was elected. The vice-president chosen with him was Chester Allan Arthur, who had been collector of the port of New York.

The Garfield-Arthur Administration.

Republican: 1881-1885.

166. Civil Service Reform. The new administration began with serious troubles regarding the disposal of the "offices." Both the senators from New York resigned their seats because the president would not submit to their dictation, especially in the appointment of a collector for the port of New York. Congress had



JAMES ABRAM GARFIELD.

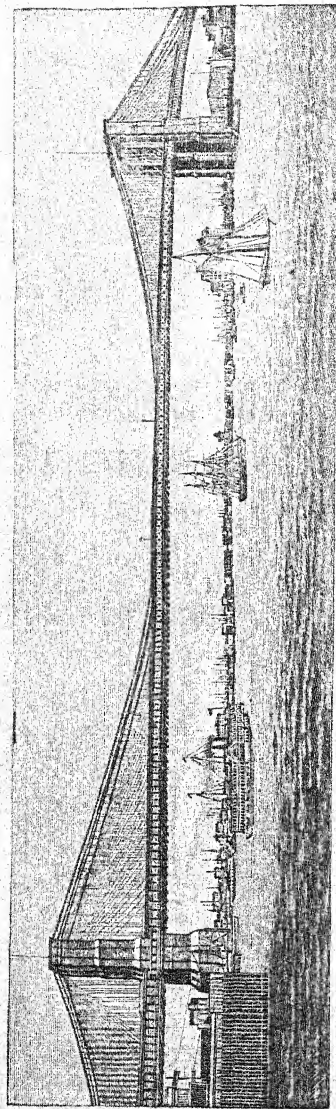


CHESTER ALLAN ARTHUR.

been extremely reluctant to coöperate with any sincere and efficient scheme of civil service reform. The new president was besieged with applicants for office. On the 2d of July, the country was startled by the news that he had been shot while standing in the railway station at Washington. The assassin was a worthless wretch, who had failed to obtain some paltry office. For many weeks the president lingered between life and death, and finally passed away on the 19th of September.

Assassina-
tion of
Garfield.

The chief event of President Arthur's administration



THE NEW YORK AND BROOKLYN BRIDGE.¹

¹ An interesting event in President Arthur's time was the completion of the suspension bridge over the East River between the cities of New York and Brooklyn, a masterpiece of engineering. The total length of the bridge is 5,990 feet, or more than $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles. The distance between the two great stone piers is 1,600 feet. These piers, rising 270 feet above high water, rest on caissons sunk upon the solid bed-rock. The tops of the piers carry four steel-wire cables weighing 3,600 tons; and from these hang 2,172 small cables, which support the iron and steel bridge at a height of 135 feet, allowing the tallest ships to pass beneath. The width is 85 feet. Through the middle runs a road for foot passengers; on each side of this is the pair of tracks for the cable-cars which carry passengers back and forth all day and night; outside of the tracks are two driveways for teams moving in opposite directions. These five parallel roads are entirely separate, and the central footway is somewhat higher than the others, affording a vast panoramic view of the two cities and beyond. The cost of this world's wonder was \$15,000,000. The work was begun in 1870 and finished in 1883.

was the passage of an act for reforming the civil service. It empowered the president to order appointments to be made by competitive examination, and it provided for a permanent board of commissioners to superintend and perfect such a system. The act, proposed by Senator Pendleton, of Ohio, a Democrat, was passed through Congress by majorities irrespective of party, and was set in operation by the Republican president.

The act to reform the civil service.

167. Prosperity of the South. Industrial exhibitions at Atlanta in 1881, and at New Orleans in 1884, showed that the southern states had greatly gained in prosperity by the substitution of free labor for slave labor. Just before the Civil War the cotton crop was about 5,000,000 bales (averaging 450 lbs. weight); at the time of the New Orleans exhibition it had increased to 8,000,000 bales. This rate of increase was greater than the rate at which the colored population of the cotton-growing states had increased; and this fact seems to prove that free negroes, working to earn a living, can raise more cotton than the same number of slaves. But this is not the whole story, for besides this increase of cotton, the southern states had come to raise vastly greater crops of wheat and Indian corn than before the war, besides an immense quantity of early fruits and vegetables for northern markets. There had been, moreover, a notable development of manufactures, and a considerable number of patents for new inventions had been issued to southerners, of whom some were negroes. While the general condition of the colored race was much improved, some individuals were growing wealthy; there were a few instances of freedmen possessing as much as \$100,000. While slavery existed it was assumed by many people that free negroes could

not be induced to work for a living. Within twenty years after slavery had been abolished, it would probably have been difficult to find in all the South a person willing to see it restored.¹

168. Election of 1884. The Democrats nominated Grover Cleveland, who, as mayor of Buffalo, and as governor of New York, had been conspicuously identified with measures of administrative reform. The Republicans nominated James Gillespie Blaine, who had three times been Speaker of the House of Representatives, and enjoyed a very widespread personal popularity. A certain number of independent Republicans, however, believing that the cause of civil service reform would not prosper with Blaine, supported Cleveland. Such people were nicknamed "Mugwumps."² In the election Blaine received 182 electoral votes, Cleveland received 219, and was elected.

Cleveland's First Administration.

Democratic: 1885-1889.

169. The Tariff Question Prominent Again. The principal feature of these four years was the rise of the

¹ I have myself put the question to hundreds of southerners, and have never received any other reply than an emphatic expression of thankfulness that the curse of slavery has been removed.

² The word Mugwump came from the extinct Massachusetts Indian language, as found in Eliot's Indian Bible, meaning "chief." It has always remained in local use along some parts of the coast of Massachusetts and Connecticut, with the sense of "a person of importance," also "a person who has a high opinion of himself." In the *Tippicanoe Log-Cabin Songster*, a collection of campaign ballads published in 1840, a certain Democratic candidate for county commissioner in Illinois was called "the great Mugwump." The word was used at least once that year in a newspaper editorial; it appeared in 1872 in the Indianapolis *Sentinel*, and again in the New York *Sun*, March 23, 1884. When applied to the Independents it happened to hit the popular fancy and came at once into general use.

tariff question into prominence. After the great tariff contests in the times of Jackson and Tyler, the question was set at rest for a time by the enactment of the Walker tariff of 1846, which was practically a tariff for revenue only. After eleven years, the tariff of 1857 made a few changes, chiefly in the direction of lower duties. On the eve of civil war, March 2, 1861, the Morrill tariff raised duties considerably, in the hope of obtaining more revenue. During the next three years, the tariff was repeatedly revised, and duties were made higher and higher. No essential change occurred after the war, until, in Cleveland's first administration, it appeared that there was a surplus in the treasury, and that the tariff might be reduced without harm to the revenue. President

Various
tariff meas-
ures.



GROVER CLEVELAND.

Cleveland made this matter the subject of his message to Congress in 1887. A bill, known as the Mills Bill,¹ for reducing the duties on imports, was passed by the Democratic House, but failed to pass the Republican Senate.

170. Important Legislation. The two most important acts of this administration related to the regulation of the presidential succession and the counting of the electoral votes. There are few if any dangers to a nation greater than those that are liable to arise from a disputed succession to the chief executive office. Many bloody civil wars have sprung from

The elec-
toral count.

¹ From the name of its chief proposer, Roger Quarles Mills, of Texas.

such a cause. In 1877 it was a serious anxiety from which we were relieved by the Electoral Commission ; but such an expedient might not succeed another time. The Electoral Count Act, of 1887, provides that each state shall finally determine any contest arising in it with regard to the result of a presidential election. Such determination must be made in accordance with some law enacted by the state before the election in question, and the decision must be reached at least six days before the day on which the electors meet. A decision reached in this way cannot be reversed by Congress. In the case of conflicting returns, Congress must count "the votes of the electors whose appointment shall have been certified by the Executive of the State, under the seal thereof."

A somewhat easier but very important question related to the succession to the presidency in case of the death or disability of both president and vice-president. An act of 1791 had provided that in such case the succession should devolve first upon the president *pro tem-*

Presi-
dential suc-
cession.

*por*e of the Senate and then upon the speaker of the House of Representatives, until the disability should be removed or a new election be held. But supposing a newly elected president to die and be succeeded by the vice-president before the assembling of the newly elected Congress ; then there would be no president *pro tempore* of the Senate and no speaker of the House of Representatives, and thus the death of one person might cause the presidency to lapse. Moreover, the presiding officers of the two houses of Congress might be members of the party defeated in the last presidential election ; indeed, this is often the case. Sound policy and fair dealing require that a victorious party shall not be turned out because of the death of the president and vice-president. Accordingly

STATUE OF LIBERTY.¹

an act of 1886 provided that in such an event the succession should devolve upon the members of the cabinet in the following order : secretary of state, secretary of

¹ The colossal statue of "Liberty enlightening the world," which stands on a small island in the harbor of New York, was finished and dedicated in 1886. It was presented to the United States by France in commemoration of the hundredth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. It was designed by Auguste Bartholdi. The statue, made of copper and iron, is 151 feet in height to the top of the torch ; and it stands upon a granite pedestal 155 feet high. By a stairway inside the figure one can ascend to the head, the interior of which is a room capable of holding forty persons. At night, when the torch is lighted by electricity, it makes a very effective lighthouse.

the treasury, secretary of war, attorney-general, post-master-general, secretary of the navy, secretary of the interior. This would seem to be ample provision against a lapse.

The Interstate Commerce Act of 1887 was especially designed to prevent railroads passing through several states from making unfair discriminations in charges for freight. The abuse of free passes was also prohibited. A commission, consisting of five persons, was established to superintend the execution of this law.

The first treaty between the United States and China was negotiated in 1844 by Caleb Cushing. It opened five Chinese sea-ports to American trade, and provided for the protection of Americans in China and their property. In 1868 a treaty was negotiated by Anson Burlingame, in which China for the first time officially recognized the principles of international law that had grown up among western nations. Among the provisions of this treaty was one in which the United States promised that "the subjects of China shall enjoy the same privileges, immunities and exemptions in respect to travel and residence as may be enjoyed by the citizens and subjects of the most favored nation ;" in other words

Chinese Immigration. Chinamen were to be allowed to come and stay in the United States on just the same terms as Irishmen or Germans. By 1880 there were about 100,000 Chinese dwelling in the United States, mostly on the Pacific coast, where they were regarded with strong disfavor. Chinese laborers worked for lower wages than white laborers, and therefore tended to supplant them. It was furthermore observed that there was no likelihood of their ever becoming American citizens and forming a part of one and the same political

community with their white neighbors. A bill for restricting Chinese immigration had already, in 1879, been passed by Congress, but was vetoed by President Hayes. In 1880 an agreement was made with the Chinese government by which immigration into the United States was partially restricted. A new treaty was to have been made, but China was slow in ratifying it, and in 1888 a bill prohibiting the immigration of Chinamen was passed by Congress and signed by President Cleveland. Some persons held that this act was invalid, as incompatible with the treaty of 1868; but the Supreme Court laid down the principle that the right to keep foreigners out of the country is an attribute of sovereignty which no treaty can surrender.

171. Election of 1888. The Democrats nominated Cleveland, who received 168 electoral votes. The Republicans nominated Benjamin Harrison (grandson of the former President Harrison), who received 233 votes, and was elected.

Harrison's Administration.

Republican: 1889-1893.

172. Principal Events. The administration of President Harrison witnessed the admission of six new states to the Union, viz., the two Dakotas, Wyoming, Montana, Idaho, and Washington. The number of stars in the American flag was thus raised to forty-four.

Legislation in Congress related principally to currency and the tariff. Upon the currency question each party was divided within itself. The end reached was the passage of the Sherman Act of 1890, modifying the Bland Bill of 1878, in so far as to make the purchase of not less than \$4,000,000 in silver

Sherman
Act.

bullion each month compulsory. Treasury notes were to be issued in payment for this bullion, and these notes, which were made a legal tender, were to be redeemable in coin on demand.

The McKinley tariff of 1890 increased the duties on some important articles, while reducing or abolishing the duties on others. At the same time great prominence was given to the principle of reciprocity. Among the duties abolished were those on tea, coffee, sugar, molasses, and hides; and it was provided that these duties might be revived by the

McKinley
Act and
Recipro-
city.



BENJAMIN HARRISON.

president against any countries which should impose unfair duties upon any agricultural products of the United States. The occasion for making use of this provision was for the president himself to determine. This led, in the course of 1891 and 1892, to treaties of reciprocity with Spain and Great Britain (for their possessions in the West

Indies), also with Germany and Austria-Hungary, with Brazil, and with several Spanish American republics.

In the winter of 1889-90 there was assembled at Washington a congress of delegates from the United States, Hayti, Brazil, and fourteen independent Spanish American states, for the consideration of questions relating to the improvement of business relations between all American countries.

Pan-Ameri-
can Con-
gress.

This was called the Pan-American Congress.¹ Its most

¹ The Greek word *Pan* means *All*. Such a meeting was attempted at

important step was recommending the permanent adoption of arbitration for the settlement of all disputes that might arise between any nations of North and South America.

It was not long after the Pan-American Congress that trouble threatened to break out between the United States and Chili. In the course of a brief civil war in the latter country there was a riot in the streets of Valparaiso, in which two sailors from a United States war ship were killed and others were maltreated. After some exchange of words between the two governments, the affair was amicably settled.

The absence of any law for protecting foreign authors against the piracy of their writings had long been remarked as a grave defect in the Federal legislation of the United States. Without such a law the book of any English author, or the translation of any book written in a foreign language, might be printed and sold in this country without paying anything to the author. Many of our leading publishers — be it said to their credit — were led by a sense of honor to pay the foreign author the customary royalty; in this there was constant risk, since nothing but the "courtesy of the trade" prevented others from publishing cheap editions of the same book; the state of things was such as to favor dishonest and unscrupulous persons at the expense of the author and the honest publisher. To remedy these evils, the International Copyright Act of 1891 gives to foreign authors, under certain conditions, the benefit of copyright in the United States.

A political reform from which excellent results have

Panama in 1825, but the attendance was very small, and nothing came of it.

already begun to flow is the adoption by many states of the Australian ballot-system, for the purpose of checking intimidation and bribery at elections. The system, so called because it was first perfected by our English-speaking cousins in Australia,



VIEW IN PACIFIC AVENUE, TACOMA.¹

secures complete secrecy of voting. Before the election of 1892, the Australian ballot, or some modification of it, had been adopted by thirty-seven states.

173. Election of 1892. A new party, called the

¹ I have given several views in New York, Boston, Chicago, and other cities, as they looked long ago, or at the time of their beginnings. By way of contrast, I here give this view of a street in Tacoma, the youngest of our important cities. Nothing could better illustrate the extraordinary rapidity with which some of our new cities spring up. In the centennial year, 1876, Tacoma consisted of a saw-mill and huts giving shelter to about 300 persons. When I first visited the place, in 1887, the population was said to be 9,000, and it was already calling itself the "City of Destiny." The census of 1890 showed a population of 36,000; and it was in 1895 more than 50,000. The view is from a photograph taken in 1892.

"People's Party" or "Populists," nominated James Weaver for the Presidency, and he received 22 electoral votes, none of them from states further east than Kansas. The Republicans nominated Harrison, who received 145 electoral votes. The Democrats nominated Cleveland, who received 277 votes, and was elected. In the newly elected House of Representatives there was a large Democratic majority, and the same party secured a slight majority in the Senate. Thus, for the first time since the Civil War, the government of the United States was Democratic in all three of its branches.

Cleveland's Second Administration.

Democratic.

174. Principal Events. During the preceding administration the surplus in the United States treasury had been rapidly diminished. At the beginning of 1893 the gold reserve had reached so low a point that some persons began to fear that the treasury might soon be obliged to suspend gold payments. There was abundance of silver in the treasury, but the value of silver had been for several years declining until ^{Currency} and Tariff. the gold value of a silver dollar was scarcely fifty cents. Yet a silver dollar was by act of Congress a legal tender for its full nominal value of one hundred cents. There was a fear that if the treasury should suspend its gold payments, business transactions would be shifted to a silver basis, just as in the Civil War they were shifted to a basis of paper notes. The inevitable result of such a change would be an inflation of prices and a widespread financial disturbance. Under these circumstances the compulsory purchase of silver by the government was a source of great danger. A disastrous commercial

depression, attributed chiefly to the above causes, began early in 1893, and led President Cleveland to summon an extra session of Congress, in which that portion of the Sherman Act of 1890 relating to the compulsory purchase of silver was repealed. In the next regular session, the chief business was the remodelling of the tariff. The Wilson tariff, which was finally adopted, retained the principle of protection, while it reduced the duties upon many articles, and in particular put wool upon the free list. The president, whose views it fell short of meeting, did not sign the bill, but, believing it preferable to the McKinley tariff, he allowed it to become law without his signature.¹

The catching of seals in Bering Sea is a very important branch of industry, and it has been pursued by so many people and with so much avidity as to excite fears that the whole race of seals there may be destroyed.

The Bering
Sea con-
troversy.

The United States prescribes a limit to the number that the Alaska Commercial Company may catch. But since 1886 many Canadian vessels have entered these waters and the destruction of seals has greatly increased. In 1891, these facts afforded the occasion for a dispute between the United States and Great Britain. Our Government practically claimed jurisdiction over Bering Sea, and began seizing Canadian vessels that were catching seals there. This led to a protest from Great Britain, and presently the question was submitted to arbitration. Some very curious points of international law were involved. In 1893, the arbitrators rejected the claim of the United States to sole jurisdiction over the seals in Bering Sea, but they laid down for the protection of those animals a set of

¹ See the Constitution of the United States, article I., section vii., clause 2.

rules which British and American seamen are bound to obey. This decision once more illustrates the value and efficacy of arbitration in international disputes.

The outbreaks of striking and boycotting, which had begun on a large scale in 1877 (§ 165), were continued from time to time. Among the most notable disturbances of this sort were those of Chicago and St. Louis in 1886, and of Homestead, near Pittsburgh, in 1892. Chicago was the scene of another outbreak in 1894, which was chiefly due to the general depression of business. The manufacture of Pullman cars was for some time kept up at a loss until the company declared itself obliged to reduce the wages of its workmen. This led to a strike, which developed into riots, with destruction of property. There was an attempt to prevent the movement of trains, and this, as interfering with the transmission of the mail, brought the affair within the purview of the United States government. A proclamation from President Cleveland made it clear that the government would not allow its ordinary functions to be suspended for the benefit of a boycott, and presently the disturbances came to an end.

The admission of Utah to the Union had long been delayed on account of the existence of polygamy among the Mormons in that territory. In 1882, Congress had passed an act for the suppression of polygamy, and under this act more than a thousand Mormons were convicted and sent to prison. The usual penalty was a fine of \$300, and imprisonment for six months. In 1887, Congress passed another act disincorporating the Mormon church and confiscating the greater part of its immense wealth. Congress also disincorporated the Emigration Company, which managed the business of bringing in Mormon converts from

Strikes
and boy-
cotts.

Utah.

abroad. As a consequence of these vigorous measures, the Mormon church in 1890 officially forbade polygamous marriages. This and other evidences of the cessation of the evil were held to have removed the chief objection to the admission of Utah as the forty-fifth state in the Union, and a bill to that effect was passed in December, 1893.

TOPICS AND QUESTIONS.

156. THE COST OF THE WAR.

1. Federal army after the war.
2. The treatment of Confederate prisoners.
3. The character of the war.
4. Two things settled by the war.
5. The cost in money and lives.

157. THE ERA OF RECONSTRUCTION.

1. Johnson's views of reconstruction.
2. The conditions under which he recognized the restoration of the states.
3. Further guarantees deemed necessary by Congress.
4. The states reconstructed.
5. Why their governments proved unsatisfactory.
6. Why the Tenure of Office bill was passed.
7. The president's defiance of it.
8. The response of the House of Representatives.
9. The consequences in case of the president's conviction.
10. The trial and its issue.
11. The French in Mexico.
12. The purchase of Alaska.
13. The election of 1868.

158. THE PROGRESS OF THE COUNTRY.

1. The increase in population.
2. The Pacific railroad.
3. Improvement in education.
4. Great names in literature.
5. Great names in historical writing.

159. THE TREATY OF WASHINGTON.

1. The Alabama claims.
2. The method of adjusting them.
3. The award.

4. The settlement of a boundary line.
5. The value of the example set under the treaty.
6. The right of expatriation.
7. The British theory of this right.
8. How the German emigrant was interested in the question.
9. The United States view admitted at last.
160. THE FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT.
 1. What it provided.
 2. Why the "carpet-bag" governments were disliked.
 3. How armed men influenced elections.
 4. How canvassers determined their results.
 5. How the peace of a state was often threatened.
 6. How affairs began to improve.
161. THE ELECTION OF 1872.
 1. The cry for civil service reform.
 2. The aims of the Liberal Republicans.
 3. How Horace Greeley came to be nominated.
 4. The result of the election.
162. THE PANIC OF 1873.
 1. Some of the causes of this panic.
 2. The condition of the national currency.
 3. Centennial anniversaries.
 4. Indian wars.
 5. The fate of Custer.
 6. Grant's policy towards the red men.
163. SOME SCANDALS.
 1. Bribery accusations.
 2. Salaries of United States officers.
 3. The salary grab.
 4. The whiskey frauds.
164. THE ELECTION OF 1876.
 1. Why many Republicans voted with the Democrats.
 2. Southern states with double returns.
 3. Conflicting claims for their votes.
 4. The difficulty of settling these claims.
 5. A northern state with double returns.
 6. The method adopted to decide these disputed cases.
 7. How the cases were finally decided.
165. IMPORTANT MEASURES OF FINANCE.
 1. The last of the carpet-bag governments.
 2. The Bland Silver bill.

3. The resumption of specie payments.
4. Strikes of workmen.
5. Boycotting.
6. The Pittsburgh riots.
7. The election of 1880.
166. CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.
 1. Troubles about offices.
 2. The president shot.
 3. The act to reform the civil service.
167. PROSPERITY OF THE SOUTH.
 1. The industrial exhibitions.
 2. Increase in the cotton crop.
 3. Increase in other crops.
 4. Growth of manufactures.
 5. The condition of the colored race.
 6. The present attitude toward slavery.
168. ELECTION OF 1884.
 1. The presidential nominees.
 2. Mugwumps.
 3. History of the word *Mugwump*.
 4. Result of the election.
169. THE TARIFF QUESTION PROMINENT AGAIN.
 1. The Walker tariff of 1846.
 2. The tariff of 1857.
 3. The Morrill tariff of 1861.
 4. Later revisions.
 5. Cleveland's tariff recommendations.
170. IMPORTANT LEGISLATION DURING CLEVELAND'S ADMINISTRATION.
 1. Dangers from a disputed succession to the chief executive office.
 2. Settlement of the question of conflicting returns.
 3. The presidential succession as determined by act of 1791.
 4. A contingency not provided for.
 5. A requirement of fair dealing.
 6. The succession as fixed by act of 1886.
 7. The Interstate Commerce Act.
 8. Our relations with China :
 - a. The treaty negotiated by Cushing.
 - b. The treaty negotiated by Burlingame.
 - c. The "most favored nation" provision.

- d.* Chinese in the United States in 1880.
 - e.* Why they were viewed with disfavor.
 - f.* Measures to restrict immigration.
- 171. THE ELECTION OF 1880.
 - 1. The presidential nominees.
 - 2. The result of the election.
- 172. PRINCIPAL EVENTS OF HARRISON'S ADMINISTRATION.
 - 1. The admission of new states.
 - 2. The Sherman act of 1890.
 - 3. The McKinley Tariff act of 1890.
 - 4. The principle of reciprocity.
 - 5. The Pan-American Congress.
 - 6. Our relations with Chili.
 - 7. A defect in our dealing with foreign authors.
 - 8. The remedy adopted.
 - 9. The Australian ballot system.
- 173. THE ELECTION OF 1892.
 - 1. The presidential nominees.
 - 2. The result of the election.
- 174. PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN CLEVELAND'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION.
 - 1. Fear that gold payments might be suspended.
 - 2. The depression of 1893.
 - 3. Repeal of the Sherman act of 1890.
 - 4. Revision of the tariff.
 - 5. Dispute over the catching of seals.
 - 6. The settlement of the dispute.
 - 7. Outbreaks of striking and boycotting.
 - 8. The Pullman strike of 1894.
 - 9. Measures for the suppression of polygamy in Utah.
 - 10. The admission of Utah as a state.

SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS AND DIRECTIONS.

- 1. Show how the votes of people have affected the course of history in the United States. Is it right that an ignorant man's vote shall count as much as an intelligent man's vote? That a poor man's vote shall count as much as a rich man's? That a bad man's vote shall count as much as a good man's? What are the objections to extending the

right of suffrage to large masses of ignorant persons? What are the arguments in favor of such suffrage?

2. Do differences ever arise between two persons of such a nature that, however honest and peaceably disposed such persons may be, they cannot be expected to agree? If so, give illustrations. What is the approved method of settlement in such cases? What would be an objectionable mode in such cases? Mention circumstances under which one of the persons in a difficulty between two might be justified in resorting to violent measures. What is meant by the doctrine of non-resistance as taught by the Friends or Quakers? Is it a desirable principle to put into practice in the relations of individuals? How far would it be wise or expedient to give the same answers to the foregoing questions if two peoples or nations should be substituted for the two persons?
3. What Pacific railroads are there to-day? Why was it thought expedient for the United States government to aid in the building of the earlier ones? In what way are they contributing to the history of the country?
4. What is meant by specie payments? When were they last suspended, and why? When were they resumed again, and why? Examine the different kinds of paper money in use to see how they read, and in what sort of money they are payable. Is a promise to pay money real money? Is paper money real money? Is the paper money issued by the Confederate states of any value now? Reason? What gives value to paper money? Why did it take two dollars of paper money, more or less, during the Civil War to buy a gold dollar? How did Union victories and defeats affect the price in paper currency of a gold dollar? Reason? What things are needed to make the use of paper currency safe? What advantages has good paper money over coin? Is a check on a bank money? May it be as good as money? What is money?
5. What is treason? Mention one or two executions for treason recorded in English history. Did England treat the Americans as traitors during the Revolution? Why were there no executions during the Civil War, or at its close, for treason?
6. What were some of the principles recognized by the Union armies in the Civil War about the use or destruction of pri-

- vate property? When was such property paid for, and when not?
7. Does history indicate diminishing wantonness and barbarity in the conduct of war? If so, what are the indications? Can war ever be other than something brutal, destructive, and deplorable? Are there any blessings that come to a people out of its wars? Is it any worse for two persons to fight than for two families, two tribes, two factions or parties, or two nations, to do the same?
 8. How do you explain the fact that both parties in the Civil War showed extraordinary devotion to their respective causes, made extraordinary sacrifices for them, invoked the same divine aid for their respective armies, and fought each other with equal sincerity and fervor?
 9. Why did the United States protest against the French occupation of Mexico during the Civil War? What important doctrine or policy of the United States was disregarded in this occupation? Why did the French withdraw at the close of the war?
 10. Give an account of the Confederate cruiser Alabama. What direct injury did she do to our commerce? What indirect injury? Why was it wrong for Great Britain to let Confederate cruisers sail from her ports? What did Great Britain have to pay for letting them do so? Tell how she came to make such a payment without a protest. Did the payment cover indirect damages? What would have been Great Britain's attitude toward such claims had they been made half a century earlier?
 11. Are you acquainted with any veteran of the war on either side? Ask him what he thinks of camp life, of marching, of facing the enemy in battle, of the scenes of the battlefield, and of war in general, as a means of settling difficulties. Ask him if he was conscious of a personal hostility to men who fought against him. Report to the class some interesting things learned in such talks.
 12. Show how the history of the United States has been shaped somewhat by its geography. Consider, for example, how the sites of cities have been determined by bays, rivers, and ease of communication with extensive regions; how the productions of the various states are dependent on soil, climate, and natural resources, and how the population is influenced

- by those productions; how some natural features have favored development in population and business, while others have hindered it; how the course of campaigns in war has been shaped by mountains, valleys, and waterways, etc., etc.
13. What is meant by a graphic representation of a series of facts? Suppose the population of the country in 1790 is represented by an area one inch square; represent on the same scale the population for 1890. Suggest other methods of representing to the eye these two populations. Suppose the entire population of the country in 1890 is represented by a circle of any diameter; represent by a sector of this circle the colored population. Suggest other ways of presenting these facts to the eye. How may the growth of the country as indicated by successive censuses be revealed by a broken line?
14. Make out a table of presidents in accordance with the following plan:

NAMES.	ELECTED BY WHOM.	DATES OF SERVICE.	FROM WHAT STATE.

What presidents have died in office? What vice-presidents have succeeded to the presidency?

In connection with each administration, answer the following questions:

- a. What general policy was the president elected to enforce?
 - b. Who was the defeated candidate?
 - c. What were the principal events of the administration?
15. Answer questions like the following about your own state:
- a. By whom was it first settled?
 - b. By what nation was the territory originally claimed?
 - c. Give a few prominent facts in its history.
 - d. Show something about the nature and rapidity of its development.
 - e. What are its chief industries?
 - f. What books would you consult to ascertain the history of your state in detail?

CHAPTER XVII.

SOME FEATURES OF PROGRESS.

175. Material Progress. From the beginning of the first permanent English settlement in America, at Jamestown, in 1607 (§ 34), to the second inauguration of President Cleveland, there was an interval of 286 years. If we divide that period in the middle, it gives us the year 1750 as the half-way station in the history of the American people. There were just as many years of continuous American history before 1750 as there have been since that date. It is well to remember this fact and avoid the habit of alluding to the time of Washington's presidency as "early American history."¹ In order to understand the character of our people and their conduct at important crises, it is necessary to study with care the earliest circumstances of their life in this country to which they have been transplanted.

The middle
point in
American
history.

Probably most people fail to realize distinctly that the date 1750 is only half-way back to the beginning of our history. An era somewhat removed from us seems to shrink in magnitude, as a mountain does when we travel away from it. But besides this, it is true that the *quantity* of American history since 1750 is much greater than before that date; the number of things to tell has increased. It may take longer to describe the earlier time, for a period removed from us is likely to need

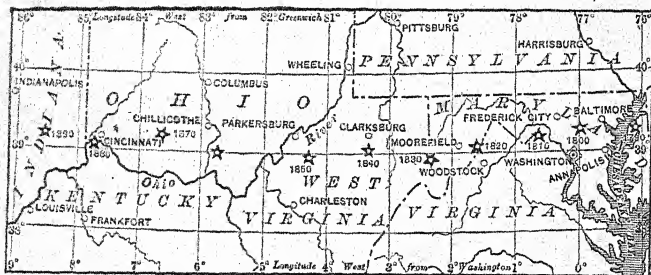
¹ See above, p. 160.

more explanation than a period close to us; but the later time is unquestionably richer in details. The nation has been rapidly growing in size and complexity; interests are wider and more varied.

In 1750, a line drawn parallel to the Atlantic coast and through the spot where the city of Harrisburg now stands would have been quite far enough west to mark the frontier. East of such a line dwelt the American

people, about 1,100,000 in number. At the memorable date of 1689 the total population had been about 200,000. The first general census in 1790 showed a population of 3,929,214; by 1890 it had grown to 62,622,250. The average rate of increase per decade has been over 30 per cent.; if that rate were to continue it would result in a population of about 300,000,000 by the year 1950, — a period which many young people now at school will live to see.

The centre of population is a point through which, if you draw an east-and-west line, there are as many peo-



CENTRE OF POPULATION.

ple to the north as to the south of it; and if you draw a north-and-south line, there are as many people to the east as to the west of it. In 1790, the centre of population of the United States lay about

23 miles east of Baltimore; the census of 1890 found it in the southern part of Indiana. It will continue to move westward for some time, but not indefinitely, for the Pacific Ocean sets a limit to our westward expansion.

This rapid increase of population has not been peculiar to the United States. The population of nearly every country in Europe has increased more since 1790 than it had increased for several centuries before. The population of England, for example, was in Queen Elizabeth's time (1558-1603) about 5,000,000; in 1790 it was scarcely 9,000,000; in 1890 it was 27,482,104. Nowhere else, however, has the increase been so great as in the United States.

One cause of the rapid increase of population in the present century has been the diminution of warfare (§ 115) and of disease. Another powerful cause has been the easy distribution of surplus products by means of railroads and steamboats. Regions formerly incapable of supplying men's needs are now well supplied from other regions. Another cause, by which our country has gained at the expense of Europe, has been immigration. In the decade ending in 1890, our total increase was 12,466,467, and of this number 5,246,613 were immigrants arriving within the decade, chiefly from European countries. Our law of naturalization makes it easy for immigrants to acquire citizenship. The act of 1802, which is still in force, allows naturalization upon proof of five years' residence in the United States and of one in the state; good character must be certified, an oath of allegiance taken, and prior allegiance renounced.

We have already remarked upon the importance of steamboats (§ 118) and railroads (§ 123) in assisting the westward movement of our population and building

up new states. A further effect of swift communication has been to develop immense farms and ranches in the western states for the supply of markets in the East and in Europe. It is this also which makes it possible to furnish wholesome fresh fruits and succulent vegetables at moderate prices to Northern tables even in midwinter (§ 167). The increased size of farms has made labor-saving machinery a necessity, so that ploughing, harrowing, threshing, and other rural operations formerly carried on by hand, are now performed by ingenious machines. Indoor domestic occupations are also largely aided by small machines, of which the most widely used and most important are probably the sewing-machine, invented in 1845 by Elias Howe, and the typewriter, which in its present form dates from 1873.

Machinery.

With machinery we now make all sorts of things, from gold watches to morocco slippers, and patents innumerable are yearly issued for mechanical devices for economizing time and effort. In such ways the production of the necessities of life has been greatly cheapened, and while many capitalists have amassed wealth, the comfort of the working classes has been to a remarkable degree enhanced.

Without the railroad and the telegraph, the movements of large bodies of men on the scale required in our Civil War would have been impossible, and the cause of the secessionists might have been successful. Without those two wonderful inventions, it is more than doubtful if a close Federal Union extending from ocean to ocean could have been established or maintained. Few if any of the great men who framed our Constitution looked forward to such a grand and durable result. Our forefathers builded better than they knew.

One effect of the telegraph has been to make this vast country, for business purposes, more compact and snug than so little a state as Rhode Island a century ago. This effect has been enhanced by the numerous ocean cables that have gone into operation within the last thirty years. A merchant in Milwaukee can watch from day to day sales and prices in Bombay or Yokohama and act accordingly. Yet the wonder of the telegraph should not blind us to the importance of the development of our postal system. In 1729, in the central state of New Jersey, lying between two principal cities only ninety miles apart, the mail, carried on horseback, was delivered once a week in summer and once a fortnight in winter. It was considered a great reform when, in 1754, Benjamin Franklin, postmaster-general of the colonies, caused the mail to be delivered three times a week. In 1792, the postage on a letter from Boston to New York was 17 cents, to Richmond in Virginia, 25 cents; there were then about 75 post-offices in the United States and 1,900 miles of post-road open, and in a year about 2,000,000 letters and papers were carried. In 1845, a series of reforms began; the letter-rate was reduced to 5 cents per half-ounce for distances under 300 miles, and 10 cents for greater distances; in 1851, it was further reduced to 3 cents for distances under 3,000 miles, and 6 cents for greater distances. In 1863, the rate was made uniform at 3 cents for all distances. In 1883, the rate was reduced to 2 cents per ounce. When the first changes were being made, in 1845, some conservative gentleman complained that "before long all the servant-girls would be writing letters!" That worthy person might have learned something if he had lived till the year ending June 30, 1893, which saw 10,236,314,985

Telegraph
and postal
systems.

pieces of mail-matter carried over 1,116 railway lines and 36 steamboat lines, aggregating 453,833 miles in length, and delivered from 68,403 post-offices. In 1885, a valuable improvement was made in the arrangement for securing immediate special delivery by an extra fee of 10 cents; the number of such special deliveries for 1893 was 3,375,693. In international postal arrangements similar improvement has been made. At the time of our Civil War the letter-rate to France was 15 cents per quarter-ounce, and economy was sought in the use of wretchedly thin paper. Germany
Postal Union. led the way in establishing the postal union, which went into effect July 1, 1875, and has since come to include nearly all countries in the world except China. Throughout the postal union there is a uniform letter-rate of 5 cents per half-ounce. The development of the system of parcels delivery by express companies has been scarcely less notable and important than that of the post-office.

In recent years both the steam railway and the telegraph have been curiously supplemented by inventions that tend to encroach somewhat upon their respective provinces. The electric telephone, invented
Telephone. by Alexander Graham Bell, came first into use in 1877, and by 1893 there were over 300,000 miles of telephone wire in operation in the United States. This marvellous invention already enables conversation to be carried on between New York and Chicago with ease, and we recognize the familiar tones of a friend's voice a thousand miles away! Electricity, which has been compelled to perform this wonder, has also furnished the supplement to the steam railway.
Electric railway. About the middle of this century street cars drawn by horses were coming into use in our principal

cities. In San Francisco cable cars were introduced in 1873 to overcome the difficult grades of that hilly city. In 1888, the first electric railway went into operation in Richmond, Va., and by 1894 there were in the United States more than 9,000 miles of track in use for this purpose. It is not improbable that before many years electricity may quite supersede steam as the motive power for railways.

In 1809, Pall Mall, one of the streets of London, began to be lighted with gas; and soon after 1820 gas companies were formed in New York and Boston. By the middle of the century the use of gas was finding its way into small towns of five or six thousand inhabitants. Since 1879 the use of electricity for lighting streets and houses has been increasing with great rapidity. Lighting.

Before 1825 close stoves were not much used in the United States, except in public buildings. Open grates and fireplaces, or open Franklin stoves, burning wooden logs or soft coal, were used for warming private houses. After 1835 anthracite stoves came rapidly into use, both for heating rooms and for cooking; and these were developed into various forms of furnace and range. Steam radiators afterward superseded hot-air furnaces in many places, especially in large buildings. In 1893, electric radiators were coming into use; and in all probability electricity will soon be the agent most generally employed for warming as well as for lighting. Warming.

With the rapid increase of population there has been a marked tendency toward concentration in cities. In 1790, out of each 100 persons 3 lived in cities and 97 in the open country or in small villages; in 1840, the ratio of urban to rural population was 9 to 91; in 1890

it was 29 to 61. The same tendency to flock into cities is observable in Europe, and one efficient cause has doubtless been the development of means of locomotion, especially of railroads, since about 1830. At certain points along lines of railroad, especially at points of intersection, or at places of junction between rail and water transit, there is a tendency for towns to swell into great cities, because it is especially easy to bring the necessities and luxuries of life to such points; whereas places off the road come to seem comfortless and lonesome. The growth of manufactures and commerce increases this tendency. It is not improbable that the further development of transit, especially in the form of local electric railways, may somewhat alter the case, by carrying into the country the comforts and conveniences of the city. The improvements of carriage roads will have the same tendency; and such improvement is likely to be one result of the rapidly increasing use of bicycles since 1890. Nothing is such a drawback upon rural comfort as bad roads.

Among recent incidents of progress we must not omit the establishment of the Weather Bureau. It was first suggested in 1817 by Josiah Meigs, who began at the Land Office registering changes of weather. For many years observations were kept up at the various army posts and along the Great Lakes, and in 1836 the Smithsonian Institution began to make predictions. In 1870, Congress established the Weather Bureau at Washington as the centre for comparing telegraphic reports from all the posts of observation in the United States. The Weather Bureau was a branch of the war department until 1891, when it was transferred to the department of agriculture.

Urban and
rural popu-
lation.

Weather
Bureau.

176. Progress in Culture. The American system of public schools, begun by the first generation of settlers in New Netherland ¹ (§ 59) and New England, has been extended, in varying degrees of completeness, all over the United States. Its excellent influence upon public morals and orderliness has often been remarked. It has produced a greater multitude of readers than any other country has ever seen. Of newspapers and periodicals, at least as many are published in the United States as in all the rest of the world taken together. To satisfy the needs of so many readers, public libraries have grown up in many parts of the country. In Massachusetts, in 1894, only two and one seventh per cent. of the entire population of the state dwelt in towns without public libraries. In many states small libraries for reference and collateral reading are growing up in connection with the public schools. In several cities and towns bulletins and reference lists with valuable bibliographical information are issued by the public library; and useful aid to teachers and pupils is given by the librarian. From the intelligent coöperation of schools and libraries the utmost good may be expected.

Among the institutions of higher learning a word of mention is due to the colleges founded before the Revolution: Harvard in 1636, William and Mary in 1692, Yale in 1701, Princeton in 1746, Columbia (first called King's) in 1754, Pennsylvania (founded by Franklin) in 1755, Brown in 1764, Dartmouth in 1769. Among those founded in the present century may be mentioned especially the University of Virginia, founded by Jefferson in 1819; the University of Michigan, organized in 1842; Wisconsin, in 1848; the

Public
schools
and
libraries.

Universi-
ties and
colleges.

¹ The first public school in New Amsterdam was established in 1633.

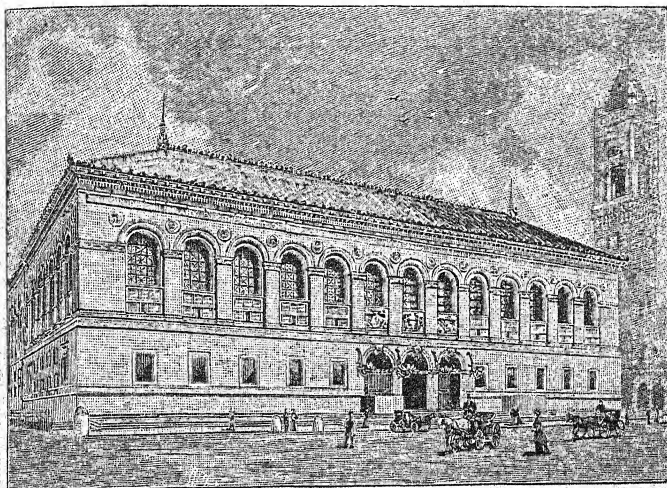
Washington University at St. Louis, in 1857; the Cornell University, in 1868; Johns Hopkins, at Baltimore, in 1876, chiefly for post-graduate studies; Tulane, at New Orleans, in 1884; Clark, at Worcester, Mass., in 1889, chiefly for original research; Leland Stanford, Jr., at Palo Alto, California, in 1891; Chicago University, in 1892.¹ Of colleges especially for women may be mentioned Vassar, opened in 1865; Smith and Wellesley, both in 1875; Bryn Mawr, in 1885.² In most of the western colleges women attend the same classes with men. At Cambridge an association for the higher education of women was very quietly started in 1878. The students were to receive the same kind of instruction as the students in Harvard, and from the same instructors, but outside of the University. This institution, which grew and flourished rapidly, was familiarly known as the "Harvard Annex," until in 1894 it was incorporated as Radcliffe College. Since the Civil War there has been a great increase in the attendance at colleges. At Harvard, in 1860, there were about 900 students in all departments; in 1894, there were more than 3,000 without including those of Radcliffe.

The largest library in the United States is the Library of Congress, with about 700,000 volumes; then follow the Boston Public Library, with 600,000; the Harvard University Library, 400,000; Chicago University Libraries. Library, 380,000; the Yale University Library, 250,000; the Astor and Mercantile libraries in New York, each 250,000; the Sutro Library at San Fran-

¹ These lists make no pretence even to an approach toward completeness.

² To these was added, in 1893, Mount Holyoke College, first opened as a seminary in 1837.

cisco, 200,000. Among libraries with less than 200,000 volumes, some are of especial interest from the character of their collections ; such are the Lenox Library in New York, the Newberry Library at Chicago, the libraries of the Boston Athenæum, the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester, the Peabody Institute at Baltimore,



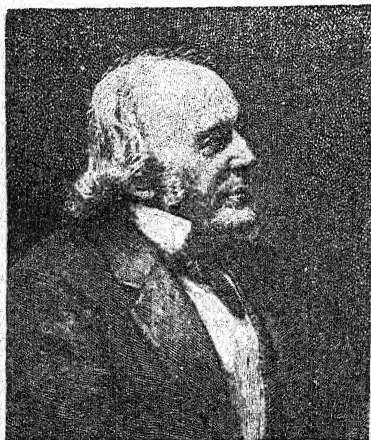
BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY.

the Wisconsin Historical Society at Madison, the Bancroft collection at San Francisco, and several others. The oldest of all is that of Harvard University, which was begun in 1638. In 1863 it had reached about 90,000 volumes, or less than one fourth of its present size ; and in like manner the principal growth of all the libraries mentioned has been since the Civil War. These facts testify to a great and growing interest in

education, from which a fine harvest will doubtless be reaped by the rising generation.¹

The development of museums since the middle of the present century has been only less remarkable than that of libraries. One of the finest scientific museums.

ums is that of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington. That noble institution, founded by an Englishman who had never visited America, has for its object "the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men," and for half a century it has occupied a foremost position in this country for the encouragement which it



LOUIS AGASSIZ.

has given to original scientific research. The Museum of Comparative Zoölogy, at Harvard University, was founded in 1860 by the efforts of the great naturalist, Louis Agassiz; it is now one of the largest and finest in the world. By its side has grown up the Museum of American Archæology, founded by George Peabody, extremely

rich and instructive in its collections. In Professor Marsh's collection of fossils at Yale University one may read chapters of our earth's history that are nowhere else so clearly exhibited. The Field Museum, at Chi-

¹ The three largest libraries in the world are the National, in Paris, with 2,600,000 vols.; the British Museum, in London, 1,700,000; the Imperial, in St. Petersburg, 1,100,000.

cago, founded in 1893, is already remarkable for many of its collections. We should not fail to mention the superb Botanical Gardens connected with the Washington University at St. Louis; as also the Astronomical Observatories at Harvard University, at Wash-
ington, Alleghany, Albany, Chicago, and the ^{Observ-}atories.
new Lick Observatory, near San José, California. None of these institutions is yet seventy years old; yet much important original work has been done in them. Until about 1850 all our telescopes were made in Europe; by 1875 it could be said that American opticians make the best telescopes in the world, and the most eminent name connected with this noble advancement is that of Alvan Clark.

Americans have always done excellent work in astronomy, from the days of David Rittenhouse, ^{Astron-}who was a friend of George Washington, to ^{omy.}the two Bonds in the middle of the present century, and to Newcomb, Young, and Langley in our own time. The application of photographic apparatus to the telescope, a step of extreme importance, was made about 1853, by Lewis Rutherfurd, of New York. By taking photographs of stars and planets, many discoveries have been made which would otherwise have been impossible.

Few practical incidents of scientific investigation have added more to the pleasure and instruction of mankind than the invention of photography. ^{Photo-}Be- ^{graphy.}fore it, only rich people could afford to have their portraits painted; now scarcely anybody is so poor that he cannot have pictures of his dear friends. The first person who photographed the human face (in 1839) was John William Draper, of New York, eminent as physicist and physiologist, and father of Henry Draper, eminent in astronomy. By further applications of

photography we are made acquainted with landscapes, buildings, and works of art in all parts of the world.

For original work in mathematics, the names of Nathaniel Bowditch (1773-1838) and Benjamin Peirce (1809-1880) hold a high place. A son of the latter, Charles Sanders Peirce, has made contributions of extraordinary value to the science of logic.

In the department of natural history, no name among botanists all over the world stands higher than that of Asa Gray. In zoölogy the work of the two Agassizs, father and son, is equally famous. In geology the name of James Dwight Dana is among the foremost; while in our time no more important scientific work has been done in any country than that of Leidy, Cope, and Marsh, in investigating the remains of extinct forms of animal life. In the very different field of descriptive ornithology, who is there that does not know the names of Wilson and Audubon? In medicine one of the most memorable things ever achieved was done in the United States. The use of anæsthetics in painful operations was begun in 1844 by Horace Wells, of Hartford, who used nitrous oxide, or "laughing gas;" and two years afterwards Charles Jackson and William Morton, of Boston, introduced the use of sulphuric ether.

But we must not pass without mention the name which is perhaps the greatest in the history of American science. Benjamin Thompson, better known by his title as Count Rumford, was born in Woburn, near Boston, in the year 1753. As the Revolutionary War came on, his Tory sympathies made Massachusetts an uncomfortable place for him. He went to England, where he was presently knighted for his scientific achieve-

ments. Some time afterwards Sir Benjamin Thompson removed to Germany and continued his work. His fame grew steadily, and for sundry services he was made a Count of the Empire, with the title of Rumford.¹ It was he who discovered and proved

Molecular
physics.



BENJAMIN THOMPSON, COUNT RUMFORD.

that heat is a mode of motion, and thus laid the foundation of the whole vast science of molecular physics.

One of the world's great names in the history of phi-

¹ From the town of Rumford (now Concord) in New Hampshire, where Thompson had lived for a while.

losophy is that of Jonathan Edwards, the profoundest thinker that America has ever produced. He was born in East Windsor, Conn., in 1703, was at one time pastor of a church in Northampton, Mass., and afterward president of the college at Princeton,

Philoso-
phy.



PHILLIPS BROOKS.

N. J. His best known work is his "Treatise on the Will," a marvellous specimen of deep and powerful reasoning, a book which no student of philosophy, for many a year to come, can afford to neglect. As a preacher, also, Edwards holds an eminent place in the brilliant list of pulpit orators which began with John Cotton, and has in recent times

included such names as Henry Ward Beecher and Phillips Brooks.

The excellence of American books on law and jurisprudence early attracted attention in Europe, where the names of Kent and Greenleaf and Story have long been famous. Wheaton's work on International Law is recognized throughout the world as of the highest authority, and it has been worthily supplemented by the learned and elegant writings of the late President Woolsey, of Yale. The work of Wharton on Medical Jurisprudence is that of a finished master of the subject.

Jurispru-
dence.

The decisions of Chief Justice Marshall are among the most far-reaching that have ever been given by an English-speaking judge. In this

connection should be cited *The Federalist*, a volume of essays written in 1788 by Hamilton, Madison, and Jay, to explain to our people the meaning and intention of the new Constitution. This book can never be outgrown or superseded, and should be studied by every American citizen who wishes to take part in the work of legislation.

Of American names in literature, the most illustrious were mentioned in the course of our narrative of events (§§ 126, 131, 159). To those may be added the exquisite poets, Cranch and Parsons, and their younger successors, Aldrich and Gilder; nor should we forget Julia Ward Howe, author of the stirring *Battle Hymn of the Republic*. As delightful essayists and critics may be named Thoreau, Stedman, Higginson, Dudley Warner, Burroughs, and Thomas Sergeant Perry. Among novelists should be mentioned Brockden Brown (1771-1810), a rare genius, whose works, for a while forgotten, are once more attracting attention. Of the ^{Literature.} writings of Susan Warner, at least one, *The Wide, Wide World* (1851), still seems to have a future before it; though a higher grade of art has been attained in the rural stories of Sarah Orne Jewett and Mary Wilkins. The names of Howells, James, Bret Harte, and Clemens (better known as "Mark Twain") tell their own story; and south of Mason and Dixon's line the life of the people has been admirably illustrated by Gilmore Simms (1806-1870), and in these latter days by Esten Cooke, Mary Murfree, Harris, Cable, Hopkinson Smith, Nelson Page, and others.¹

To the historians mentioned in our former chapters,

¹ In this mention of names in various departments, no pretence is made to completeness. Some novels and poems, omitted here, are mentioned in Appendix F.

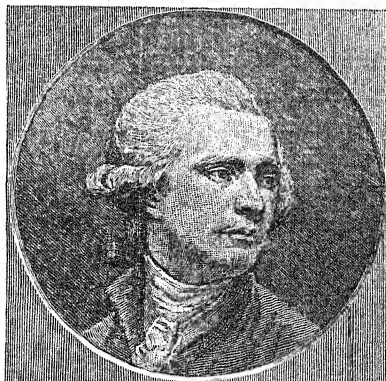
two should be added, whose works, though not of a popular character, are among the glories of American scholarship. Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature stands at the head of works on that subject. The History of the Inquisition by Henry Charles Lea, of Philadelphia, exhibits a depth and thoroughness of learning to which even Germany can hardly furnish a parallel; it is one of several books by the same author to which European writers must come for instruction. Kirk's History of Charles the Bold, though not equal to Lea's works, is superior to anything France has produced on the same subject. Among Shakespeare critics another Philadelphian, Horace Howard Furness, stands foremost; and the exhaustive collection of English and Scottish Ballads, by Professor Child, of Harvard, is known throughout Europe as a colossal monument of critical scholarship. In comparative philology no name of recent times stands higher than that of the late William Dwight Whitney, Professor of Sanskrit at Yale. For valuable work in American ethnology and archæology we must cite that of Powell, Bandelier, and Cushing; and in Indian linguistics that of Trumbull, Hale, and Brinton.

Coming to the fine arts, our first eminent name is that of the portrait painter John Singleton Copley, whose life was a romance. He was born in Boston in 1737, the son of poor parents, who had lately come from Ireland. At an early age he showed an irrepressible talent for drawing and painting, and in course of time won such local fame that most of the eminent and wealthy people in Boston sat to him for their portraits. In 1760, he was persuaded to send one of his pictures to London for exhibition. This made him famous in England, so that in 1774 he went over

there and found so much occupation that he never returned to America. His son, John Singleton Copley, became Lord Chancellor, and was raised to the peerage as Lord Lyndhurst.

So much can come from talents well used.

Among our early painters other eminent names are Gilbert Stuart, John Trumbull, Benjamin West, and Washington Allston. During the last half century we have had several landscape painters of high excellence, such as Du-



JOHN SINGLETON COPLEY.

rand, Cole, Huntington, Inness, Church, Bierstadt, Gifford, Kensett, Whitredge, Cropsey, Winslow Homer, and Homer Martin; and among *genre*¹ painters Eastman Johnson has been pioneer in a school that includes Perry, Hennessy, and other eminent names, and has done work that rivals that of any people in Europe. The paintings of Elihu Vedder show rare originality and power; and last, not least, may be mentioned John La Farge, great in many ways.

Among our really eminent sculptors may be named Greenough, Crawford, Powers, Ball, Story, Ward, French, MacMonnies, and St. Gaudens. The American people have known less about their sculptors than about their painters, and much less about Sculpture. either than about their poets. A printed book goes

¹ *Genre* painting is that which depicts little scenes, such as "Going to Church," "The Courting," etc. It bears somewhat the same relation to historical painting that writing short stories bears to writing history.